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Envoy Grinevskiy Comments on Vienna Talks

PM2803104389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by own correspondent S. Tosunyan: "Vienna: A Constructive Debate"]

[Text] Vienna—The first round of the talks on confidence-building and security measures and on conventional armed forces in Europe has ended.

As is known, the start of the talks was preceded by a 3-day meeting of the foreign ministers of the CSCE states, after which the diplomats and experts went to work. Delegations from 33 European countries together with the United States and Canada are participating in the talks on confidence-building measures, where the socialist countries' concept was expounded by Bulgarian delegation leader Ambassador Lyuben Petrov. At the 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO countries' forum, special envoy O.A. Grinevskiy, head of the Soviet delegation, acquainted the participants with the Warsaw Pact's proposals on conventional armed forces. I asked them to give their impressions of the initial stage of the talks.

The documents submitted by the sides, Lyuben Petrov said, require thorough study. The debate, which has gone on for 2 weeks, has been of a constructive nature. A preliminary analysis shows that there are many similarities in the positions of the sides, but there are differences. Some of them are difficult to resolve, but there are also those which we will have to consider together.

Unlike the NATO countries, which are proposing only an arms reduction, the Warsaw Pact states are also seeking a reduction in personnel. It can be noted with satisfaction that we have managed to avoid a numbers debate.

At the talks on confidence-building measures all the participants advocated the development and expansion of the Stockholm accords.

Envoy O.A. Grinevskiy believes that the energetic start given to the talks by the foreign ministers' meeting did the trick. The sides marked out their positions quickly and clearly and began a serious analysis of them.

The Warsaw Pact states' proposals, he said, are a long-term program, comprising three stages, for the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments to levels that would be sufficient for defense.

But the NATO countries' position only envisages reducing three categories of armaments: tanks, artillery, and armored vehicles. If we want to look for differences of opinion, then certainly we need go no further. But the Soviet delegation came to Vienna with instructions to seek an honest accord that meets the security interests of all the participants in the talks.

Where do we see opportunities for progress? I think that an attempt can be made to build bridges between the first stage of reductions in the Warsaw Pact documents and the NATO proposals. Both proposals are concerned with the reduction of conventional armaments to equal ceilings which would be lower than the current lowest levels of the sides; the elimination of imbalances; and deeper cuts. This, to use diplomatic language, creates a sphere of coincident interests in which productive talks are possible.

Now for the difficulties. It all hinges on what specific armaments are to be cut first. The NATO list is clearly too short to remove from European soil the danger of a surprise attack. It is necessary to reduce tactical aircraft and combat helicopters as well as tanks, artillery, and infantry combat vehicles. Why do we place the emphasis on aircraft? Because the aircraft grouping that currently exists in Europe is the most powerful weapon in terms of its strike capability.

As for the forum on confidence-building and security measures, both the points of contact and the differences of approach have been identified. The delegations of the NATO countries are suggesting essentially confining ourselves to cosmetic measures, whereas we would like to elaborate a "new generation" of condidence-building measures on land, at sea, and in the air.

The next round starts 5 May.

NATO Policy Called 'Contradictory,' 'Restricted'

LD2703192189 Moscow TASS in English 1911 GMT 27 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 27 TASS—TASS military news analyst Vladimir Chernyshev writes:

The main result of the first round of talks on conventional arms in Europe, which recently ended in Vienna, was the tabling by the countries of the Warsaw Treaty and by those of the North Atlantic alliance of their respective policy statements expounding their conceptual approaches to European security and positions on reductions of conventional arms and troops on the continent. What can one say about these positions?

One immediately detects a commonality and differences in the scopes of the general approaches of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO to enhancing security in Europe. The sides appear to agree that the talks should concern themselves not only with the quantitative aspects of armaments but also with the political future of the continent. As the Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said, in Vienna there began negotiations not just on troops and conventional arms reductions and on confidence-building measures but on a broader and more important matter—on overcoming the division of Europe. Western representatives have agreed with this assessment. The Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher of the Federal Republic of Germany and his French

opposite number Roland Dumas spoke in Vienna, among other things, about the talks as a new leg on the road toward the creation of a common European home.

At the same time the practical approaches to the attainment of this important objective differ substantially. The Warsaw Treaty states propose moving in the broadest possible front of disarmament, getting rid of nuclear, chemical, conventional and any other weapons. With this aim in mind, they deem it feasible in addition to talks on conventional armed forces in Europe, to begin as soon as possible individual negotiations on reductions and complete elimination of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, have stressed the need to seriously get down to limiting the destabilising offensive functions and capabilities of the naval forces, and have appealed for pondering over the new dimensions of European security, including, among other things, the feasibility of synchronising processes of disarmament in Europe with processes of settlement in such regions as the Near and Middle East.

Regrettably, however, this appeal for adopting such a wide-scope approach in moving along the road to disarmament has not only failed to gain the support of the representatives of the NATO countries but has also caused objections. In laying down the official posture of the North Atlantic alliance, the British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe said that "haste" with setting up a nuclear-free zone in Europe was not, allegedly, a way for "slowing down the military roundabout" and that, allegedly, since nuclear weapons have already been invented, it was impossible to reverse the process and to find an adequate replacement for the forces of containment. As regards the naval forces, the foreign secretary went on to say, NATO needed safe maritime communications to safeguard security and so there could be no question of discussing the naval forces.

Consequently, while sharing the idea of the socialist countries concerning the principal goal—that of overcoming the division of Europe, the NATO countries do not want to speak about talks on reducing and destroying armaments in all fields constituting the military potentials of the sides in Europe and its surrounding seas. NATO's position on the question of reducing conventional armed forces is as contradictory and restricted.

Daily's Readers Concerned Over Force Cuts Impact
PM2703153789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[Aleksey Gorokhov "Political Diary": "Reduction: People and Figures"]

[Text] Yesterday the press published the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree "On Reducing the USSR Armed Forces and Defense Spending During 1989-1990." The realization of the important political decision announced from the UN rostrum last December is entering the practical stage: Some 500,000 servicemen are to be cut.

This event has aroused profound concern among PRAVDA readers. I judge this from the mail over the past 3 and ½ months.

This is the chief point of concern for many people: Will the reduction not affect the country's defense capability? Let us decide together. In point of fact, our people are maintaining the same army as at the end of the forties. But there has been a radical change in the "face" of the present troops. Do we really need Su-25 ground-attack aircraft and MiG-29 fighters now in such numbers as the famous Il-2's or YaK-3's? Do we need such an armada of T-72 or T-80 tanks as we had of the renowned T-34's? Of course not.

Another historic parallel: At the third congress of soviets in 1925 M.V. Frunze told the delegates that we had gone from 5.5 million men to a peacetime cadre army with a strength of...562,000 men. It is true that Frunze still made a proviso and expressed his concern: "...We have exceeded the limit of the reduction possible in the present international situation." But the domestic economic situation was shaping up in such a way that such a step had to be taken, for, to use F. Engels' words, "nothing is so dependent on economic conditions as precisely the Army and Navy."

However, our readers naturally draw a parallel with the more recent historical past, namely with the large-scale unilateral reduction of the Armed Forces in 1960, when what we now call "the human factor" was frequently ignored.

Approximately 100,000 officers—that is, a weighty proportion of "the Army's backbone"—are now to leave the troops. Colonel V. Yelistratov, retired, of the Moldavian city of Beltsy remarks: "The destinies of the officers being discharged and their families are on our conscience." Kiev resident V. Goncharenko, also a retired colonel, asks the question: "Will this new reduction not turn out to be a 'campaign,' when all are treated alike?" Lieutenant Colonel A. Moseyev, as well as many other readers, incidentally, voices special concern over the destinies of such a large category of those being discharged as majors and lieutenant colonels—that is, people who have done considerable service and who have, as a rule, large families but also low salaries, which means they cannot count on a "full" pension. Major K. Shik considers the question from another angle: "Officers who have merited their pension in difficult, dangerous work may be discharged on terms equal to those who are discharged for dishonorable reasons...."

And again, the reduction will give the state budget a sizable injection. I do not know the exact figure, but let us assume that it will be somewhere between R10 and R20 billion a year. Many letters put the question: How can these considerable sums be utilized intelligently?

Major V. Kokorev believes: "Some of the funds must definitely be used to meet the social needs precisely of the servicemen and their families, to ensure elementary living and service conditions, and to resolve the problems of officers being discharged and of internationalist servicemen who have been injured and maimed." Major Yu. Zhingel, retired, of Leningrad proposes using part of the funds released to build housing.

These are just some facets of the readers' mail. We propose to talk about these topics in greater detail very soon. But today I will say, citing the USSR Defense Ministry, which has drawn up a detailed plan of measures in this regard: We are now ending up with approximately 60,000 officers who have served their prescribed terms, who have the right to pensions and fixed benefits, and the majority of whom have accommodation. A further 30,000-40,000 people will "approach" these terms over the next 2 years. The USSR Defense Ministry has given an authoritative assurance: There is no intention to drive anyone out of the Army; young officers need not be concerned.... In addition, the Defense Ministry will use its own resources to build 100 60- and 80-apartment blocks. Such construction has already begun in many oblast centers. A program has been drawn up together with the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems to retrain discharged servicemen and members of their families. The Defense Ministry and the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems have been entrusted with monitoring the process of finding jobs for those discharged....

There is no denying that the military department has to solve very complex questions, for very specific people with their joys and sorrows lie behind the solid figures of the reduction. Humanity and common sense—these criteria must direct the pen through cadre documents and local soviet decisions. In all times and in all peoples the profession of armed defender has been surrounded with special concern. Let us not forget this simple truth.

Gorbachev Sends Message to Moscow Film Festival
PM2803093189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[M. Gorbachev message of greetings "To the Participants and Guests of the First Moscow International Movie Festival for Children"]

[Text] I cordially greet the participants and guests of the First Moscow International Movie Festival for Children.

It is with emotion and hope that we look at the generation who will live and work in the 21st century. The international climate has markedly improved, the threat of military confrontation has diminished, and measures of mutual trust are being elaborated. But much work still has to be done to make a world without war and weapons a reality. It is very important that the exponents of the cinematic art, who have devoted their creativity to a great goal, should be deeply aware of their noble mission and combine efforts to establish lofty humanitarian ideals.

I sincerely wish the festival success. May its noble motto "Peace and love to the children of the world" contribute to widening creative links between moviemakers and to cultural progress and the rapprochement of the peoples. M. Gorbachev.

Developments in 'The Satanic Verses' Affair Updated
PM2803095789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by M. Yusin: "Ambassadors Return, Problems Remain"]

[Text] The diplomatic crisis that has erupted in relations between Iran and the countries of Western Europe over the "Salman Rushdie affair" took a new turn this week. The European Community states reached an agreement to the effect that each of the Common Market countries can decide independently, without consulting its partners, whether or not the diplomats recalled from Tehran a month ago should return there.

The governments of all 12 EEC countries recalled their ambassadors and charges d'affaires from the Iranian capital "for consultations" as a mark of protest against the unprecedented step by the spiritual leader of Iran, Ayatollah Khomeyni, in sentencing to death Salman Rushdie (a British subject), author of the novel "The Satanic Verses," which has caused such a sensation.

The fact that the EEC countries formed a united front on this delicate issue, by unequivocally demonstrating solidarity with Britain, caused a tumultuous anti-Western campaign in Iran. The most radical members of the Iranian clergy called for the severing of economic ties with Western Europe, which had begun an anti-Islamic "crusade."

For a month the tension in relations between Tehran and the EEC was close to the breaking point. Only now, following the session in Brussels of the foreign ministers of the countries of the community, has it gradually begun to abate.

As AFP notes, Ireland, Greece, and Italy were the chief initiators of the decision giving the green light for the return of the diplomats. An official spokesman for the Greek Government has already stated that the Greek ambassador will return to Tehran "soon." French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas has also let it be known that French Ambassador to Iran Christian Graeff's Paris "consultations" are nearly over.

After the news from Brussels reached the Iranian capital, Imam Khomeyni addressed the people. The official Iranian agency, IRNA, cited excerpts from the ayatollah's speech, the tone of which was that of a victory communique on the capitulation of a defeated enemy: "The ambassadors of the European Community countries are returning to Iran in disgrace. Probably, when they made threats against us (a month ago), these states did not foresee that it would end so ignominiously for them."

Khomeyni again urged the people to be vigilant, declaring: "You must know that the West and the East will not rest until they succeed (and they think they are capable) in undermining Islamic unity."

Meanwhile, the passions aroused in the Muslim world by "The Satanic Verses" are not abating. According to agency reports, major cities in Bangladesh have been paralyzed by a general strike as a protest against Rushdie's novel. It was held on the initiative of seven religious leaders, who were immediately supported by the country's major fundamentalist party "Jama'at-i-Islami" and a dozen other, less influential, Muslim groupings. The demonstrators marching at the front had wound white cloth about their bodies, of the kind that is used in Islamic countries to wrap corpses before burial—an obvious hint at the "retribution" that awaits the writer as a result of his "blasphemous" novel.

But the Bangladeshi authorities, and, in particular, the country's president, General Ershad, to all appearances tend not to share the extremism of their compatriots who have taken to the streets. In an interview for AFP, asked about the sentence passed on Salman Rushdie by Ayatollah Khomeyni, Ershad said: "How can I endorse this sentence? No one can be punished without a trial. And no civilized state would accept it."

Geoffrey Howe, head of the British foreign policy department, was forced to alter the program for his visit to Pakistan, which begins on Monday. In particular, Howe canceled a planned trip to Peshawar. Government

circles believe that the main reason for this step is the explosive situation and the wave of anti-British feeling in Pakistan in connection with the publication of "The Satanic Verses."

But despite the frantic campaign against Rushdie, or, rather, because of it, "The Satanic Verses" is selling at record speed in the countries of the West (particularly in the United States). The novel stands at the top of the weekly U.S. bestsellers list compiled by the newspaper THE NEW YORK TIMES.

International Seminar on Indian Ocean Begins

LD2803102889 Moscow TASS in English 0955 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Sochi March 28 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Sergey Karmalito:

The problems of making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace are being discussed by the participants in an international seminar which began in this resort city on the Black Sea coast on Tuesday.

The seminar which is being held within the framework of the U.N. worldwide campaign for disarmament is being attended by more than 60 delegates representing the member states of the U.N. Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean, as well as by a number of non-governmental organisations and academic institutions of the countries of the Indian Ocean region, the United States and the Soviet Union. The seminar has been organized by the U.N. Secretariat and the Soviet Union's U.N. Association.

On the agenda are items which are directly connected with prospects for implementing the declaration on making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. The declaration had been adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in 1971 on the initiative of Sri Lanka and a number of other non-aligned countries.

The importance of this task is illustrated by the fact that one-third of the world' population now live in the region and that the shipping lanes in the area account for about a quarter of the entire amount of sea cargo transportation.

The immense importance of establishing a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean to all countries of the region as well as to the international community as a whole is emphasized in a message from U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar. The message was read out at the opening of the seminar.

This was also the subject in speeches of greetings made by Vasily Safronchuk (USSR), U.N. undersecretary-general, and Daya Perera (Sri Lanka), chairman of the U.N. Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean.

They recalled that the U.N. General Assembly's resolutions envisage that the preparatory work, which is connected with the convocation of a U.N. conference on the Indian Ocean in Colombo in 1990, should be completed in the first half of this year.

The participants in the seminar will also consider reports on confidence building measures, on ways to limit military activity in that part of the world, on the impact of seats of regional tension upon the security interests of littoral and continental countries, and on new approaches to the problem of establishing a zone of peace, the approaches which take into account favourable changes in the present-day international atmosphere.

The seminar will come to a close on March 30.

* Efforts to Free POW's in Afghanistan Detailed

18000684 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 23 Mar 89 p 4

[Interview with Mikhail Shemyakin by Gennadiy Vasilyev]

[Text] **On 25 March in Moscow a large exhibition of the work of Mikhail Shemyakin will open at the showroom on Krymskaya Naberezhnaya. Canvases, graphic works, and sculpture borrowed from private collections or foreign galleries give an idea of the creative work of our compatriot and contemporary, a brilliant and original artist who lives in New York. The exhibition was organized by the USSR Union of Artists, the Soviet Culture Fund, and the Bowles Sorocco Gallery (United States).**

Mikhail Shemyakin is a Russian artist living in New York. Recently I managed to see him again. Early in the morning I looked in on him at his studio on Wooster Street where I took this snapshot upon parting.

We had not seen one another for more than a year. We had a lot to talk about, but above all about what Mikhail was working on and how preparations were going for the big exhibition of his creative work that was opening soon in Moscow. But, our conversation was not about painting and not about art or the destinies of people like him, figures in our culture who during the period of stagnation were "forced out" of our country. Our conversation was about Afghanistan or, more concretely, about Soviet POW's. This is because Shemyakin is a person who is quite sensitive to the fact that he belongs to his homeland, to its history and current concerns, and he has great sympathy for the suffering of the Soviet boys who ended up in the hands of the Afghan armed opposition and, being the chairman of the International Committee for the Release of Soviet POW's in Afghanistan, he is trying to do everything possible for them to return home.

[Shemyakin] This all began for me when somebody brought me these tragic songs about Afghanistan. Cassettes made by participants in the war, when I heard their voices 'Here under a foreign sky, under the Kabul

stars...' The melodies are old, I grew up with them, but the words are different and new. I shivered. To me they sounded almost as strong as the songs of Volodya Vysotskiy. I suddenly smelled the bandages and iodine and saw these unhappy boys. I felt as though I were with them. I understood that I could never leave them. Never!

[Vasilyev] According to your figures, how many of our boys are being held prisoner? Where are they?

[Shemyakin] One of the leaders of the 'Seven' gave a figure of 300 men. Others, with whom I have entered into negotiations here in New York, say that this is a lie and that in fact many fewer are still alive. Do you know how the thing was arranged from the very beginning? Our boys sit in pits and for each prisoner there are four guards—two stand guard during the day and two at night. And this convoy is also supposed to share food and water with the prisoners. But why share? It is simpler to kill them.... The conditions in which the POW's are kept are extremely severe. Many cannot hold up. Some have been killed while attempting to flee while others have committed suicide. The war has already ended. The Soviet Union has withdrawn its troops from Afghanistan. But the task of saving the POW's has not been removed from the agenda. We must look for ways of access to those who are being held prisoner, enter into negotiations with the mujahidin, and try to get our boys out of captivity.

[Vasilyev] How is this done in practice?

[Shemyakin] I shall tell you about myself. I come here to my basement in New York where Afghan refugees are sitting. They are young, old, some are almost children. The father of one of them has died, another has lost a brother, and a third has had her child ripped out of her arms. They have come here to meet with me, a Russian. And I bring the conversation around to releasing our POW's. I say that the Koran, like the Gospel, appeals to us to be merciful. The children listen to me and sometimes forget that I am a Russian American, that I am speaking on behalf of the committee, and they begin to get excited and come to me.

We are trying to find among the Afghan opposition people who are ready to listen to us, with whom we can speak. But it is extremely difficult to do this. The mujahidin are divided and the prisoners are in the hands of individual commanders. Some want to exchange our POW's for Afghan prisoners, others demand money, and still others want to exchange for binoculars.

[Vasilyev] Have you tried to establish any ties with the Pakistani authorities?

[Shemyakin] We have asked the authorities in Islamabad to let our committee into Pakistan where the main bases of the armed Afghan opposition are located. But we were refused a visa. We wrote to the President of the United States. We asked the White House to receive members of the committee and to help in obtaining the release of Soviet servicemen who had been taken prisoner. The answer we received was polite but promised no assistance. But we are not giving up, we shall not stop until there is at least some hope of saving our boys.

[Vasilyev] You are the chairman of the committee, but who are its members?

[Shemyakin] Among its members are a historian and specialist on Russia, Suzannah Massy, the writer Bob Massy who received the Pulitzer Prize for his book "Peter I," Marina Vladi, Rabbi B. Mendelbaum, the renowned sculptors George Segal and Leonard Baskin, and the eminent commentator Harry Farber. The majority are either emigrants from Russia or people linked to Russia through their creative work. Recently a well-known Italian art historian, Prof Gribaudi joined the committee.

[Vasilyev] And are there any former Soviet POW's in the United States?

[Shemyakin] There are. According to my calculations there are about 15. Some of them stay with me. They sit here at this table and talk. Frequently they cry. But they are afraid to return. They are all very strongly affected by the fact that one of the first POW's from Afghanistan who returned to the Soviet Union was put in jail. True, they let him go later. And they are also very much afraid of the Afghan vets. If we go home, they will be right on top of us asking where we were. Did we not desert? How can we prove it? So they have this fear inside them as well. But they want to go home, they are still children, their mothers are waiting for them.

It is not only the fate of the POW's that bothers the artist. He is also trying to help those who suffered in combat on Afghan soil. Recently he turned over the earnings from the sale of a unique album of Vysotskiy records to the fund for the rehabilitation of Soviet Afghan vets. The fund is also getting the money received for a four-volume Vysotskiy album he prepared.

Before sending this article to be printed I phoned Shemyakin in New York.

"We shall meet again soon," he said, "my pictures are already on their way to Moscow."

After 18 years Shemyakin is returning to Soviet art lovers.

United States & Canada

U.S. Contra Aid 'Means of Pressuring' Nicaragua

PM2803091589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Banking on the Contras"]

[Text] Washington, 25 Mar—U.S. President George Bush announced on Friday in the White House that the bipartisan leadership of Congress had agreed to back his request for continued "nonmilitary" aid to the Contras at the present level until the general election set for February 1990 in Nicaragua.

The President let it be known that Washington officially sees the continuation of "nonmilitary" aid to the contras as a means of pressuring this Central American country. According to Secretary of State James Baker, addressing a press conference in the White House, the new aid for the contra formations based in Honduras will amount to around $45 million. Baker said the administration has "no plans to put in a request for military aid," but he stressed that there are basically no restrictions "prohibiting such aid" if the situation changes in the region.

Cheney Profiled, Sees Soviet Arms Cuts as 'Snare'

PM2703164189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
27 Mar 89 Second Edition p 6

[Correspondent V. Gan article under the rubric "Profile Against the Backdrop of News": "Richard Cheney"]

[Text] Washington—The words that were spoken matched the icy weather. "Caution is necessary. We must not listen to those who want to declare the 'cold war' defunct..." This is what the guests huddling in the inner court of the Pentagon came to hear. The words of the 17th chief of the U.S. Department of Defense were perceived as a kind of tuning fork to set the tone for the entire vast mechanism of the Pentagon.

...Only official reference books refer to him as Richard. In normal life he is simply known as Dick, and no one would dream of calling him anything else. In his 20 years in Washington, Dick Cheney has long since joined that category of U.S. politicians who do not consider familiarity a sign of disrespect. On the contrary, he encourages it in every way as valuable evidence of his democratic attitude and popularity.

Of this, Dick Cheney, who has now taken the main seat on the third floor of the Pentagon, has enough and to spare. In comparison with J. Tower, the original presidential nominee to this post, who was "dragged through the mud" and rejected, Cheney looks impeccable. Even outwardly he is gentleness and amicability itself. A fairly open face with a high forehead, which has made considerable inroads into his once fair hair, looks at the world through elegant spectacles that add only intelligence to his appearance. And, reportedly, dealing with Cheney is sheer pleasure, too. He never puts the wrong foot forward, is witty and perceptive, and, what is more, is very reliable. In short, many people would like to have him as a friend, or, say, a neighbor.

Behind almost every successful man there is a woman. The given case is no exception. For almost 25 of his 48 years, Dick has been happily married to Lynne Vincent, a classmate, who has borne him two daughters. Incidentally, Lynne herself has also achieved a great deal as head of the well-known National Foundation for the Humanities. The happy couple is regarded as one of the best educated couples in Washington.

And so it is understandable why, tired of the investigations into alcohol abuse and amorous indiscretions in Tower's private life, the senators "heaved a collective sigh of relief," as one of them put it, when President Bush's choice came to rest on Dick. At the hearings devoted to the examination of his candidacy even Senator Wallop's joke that he had had a beer or two with Cheney was considered out of place.

However, as a politician Cheney comes across much more as a "wily" person, a master of maneuver and compromise. It is precisely these qualities that account, above all, for his impressive rise on the U.S. political stage. It took Cheney only a year to land a government post, having arrived from his native Wyoming for a probationary period in the U.S. Congress. Congressman Rumsfeld (subsequently secretary of defense in the Ford administration), who had been appointed by the then-President Nixon as director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, engaged Cheney in 1969 as his special assistant. Since then his career has literally soared, and has included influential White House posts under President Nixon, assistant to the President under President Ford, and finally, in 1975, White House chief of staff.

After the failure of Ford's campaign to win re-election for its candidate, Cheney returned to Wyoming, and 2 years later became a member of the House of Representatives for that state. In the course of five 2-year periods he has risen to almost the very top of the Republican hierarchy in the House, taking the post of deputy leader. His bright future has already begun.

Despite the fact that Cheney gets along easily with people, he has had his share of troubles. Three heart attacks and last year's heart surgery can hardly be considered fortuitous. Nonetheless, the higher the praise he earned, especially under Reagan, whom he supported on virtually all issues, without, at the same time, marring his good relations with the Democrats. At the height of the "Iran-Contra" scandal, Cheney, a member of a special House of Representatives inquiry commission, categorically defended the President, justifying this defense by referring to "the constitutional powers of the President." He referred to them again when he fiercely defended the White House refusal to notify Congress of covert Central Intelligence Agency actions and its failure to abide by the

law on military powers, a law which restricts the administration's freedom in conducting military operations abroad without the consent of Congress.

Many people in Washington describe Cheney as a pragmatist, but I believe this is not entirely accurate. Right-wingers are probably closer to the truth when they describe him as "the ideal choice." Congressman Cheney has supported every budget request of the Pentagon, every gun, aircraft, tank, and missile with both hands. What about SDI? Definitely! What about chemical weapons? Without fail! A ban on nuclear tests? Under no circumstances! Renunciation of interference and pressure on other countries? No way!

Cheney, "a gentle and perceptive person," is unwilling to take account of Soviet reforms and unilateral arms reduction steps. At best, he refers to them as a "snare."

U.S. Role as 'Inspirer' of Afghan War Viewed

PM2703102989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[Correspondent V. Gan dispatch under general heading: "In Peshawar They Prefer Bloodshed.... But in Washington?"]

[Text] Washington, 25 Mar—Judging by some reports, the U.S. Administration has been obliged to engage in correcting its military-political plans aimed at overthrowing the Kabul government. Informed sources note that officials in the White House, State Department, Pentagon, and CIA have begun to admit that their "optimistic calculations" regarding the rapid fall of the Afghan Government are proving "unfounded."

However, all this does not mean any fundamental changes in the position of the United States which, having been deprived of its propaganda cover in the shape of references to the Soviet presence in Afghanistan, is acting as the main inspirer and coordinator of the bloodshed. However that may be, reports about the "correction" being carried out promise not the United States' recognition of its responsibility but the buildup of military and political interference. It is hard not to draw attention to the persistently emerging evidence here that the siege of Jalalabad is being directed by U.S. advisers, although naturally not a single Washington department will confirm this.

At the same time, Washington has embarked on accelerating psychological warfare against Kabul. It has already been reported that the Bush administration has closed its embassy there. The question is now being raised of breaking diplomatic relations with Afghanistan and sending a U.S. envoy to the opposition camp, which would demonstrate "specific support" for the mujahidin.

* 'Roundtable' on U.S.-Soviet Answer to Terrorism

18070058 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 11, 15 Mar 89 p 14

[U.S.-USSR "roundtable discussion": "USSR-United States: A Soviet-American Answer to Terrorism. Is it Possible?"

[Text] **LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in conjunction with the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace and the American social organization "Search for Common Ground" were the initiators of the project: "USSR-United States: A Joint Answer to Terrorism." The first Soviet-American meeting for fulfillment of this project was held in January this year. Its participants included legal experts, political scientists, and journalists: John D. Marx (coordinator of the American group of participants and head of "Search for Common Ground"); Brian M. Jennings (chief of the political division of the Rand Corporation); Robert Cupperman (former official of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, senior consultant of the Center for Strategic Research, and a well known television commentator); Geoffrey Kemp (former assistant to President Reagan on the Near East for the National Security Council); Margaret Milkhauzer (expert on mediation of conflicts); John Murphy (lawyer, Villanova University Law School, United States); Igor Belyayev (coordinator from the Soviet side, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA political observer); Yevgeniy Lyakhov (doctor of jurisprudence, professor, specialist in international law); Oleg Prudkov (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA editorial board member); Valentin Romanov (of the World Economy and International Relations Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and USSR ambassador); corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Gleb Starushenko (deputy director of the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences); and Andrey Shumikhin (sector chief of the United States and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences). Within the framework of "national diplomacy," public representatives of the United States and Soviet Union gathered in Moscow to try to take the first step toward achievement of the goal that has been set. What they managed to accomplish, what the atmosphere was like for the discussion of the problems raised, what results were achieved—these and several other issues are discussed by participants in our roundtable discussion.**

[O. Prudkov] From my viewpoint, the problem we are discussing has not only legal and political but also general human significance. When we read about the latest terrorist acts in Western Europe, in the Punjab, or in the Near East we understand that something similar could affect each one of us, not just important and influential politicians. No, this problem affects the common man. Thus, for example, from 1969 through 1989 there were 662 aircraft hijackings in the world in which 1,260 people died and more were wounded.

In our country alone in 3 years 4 aircraft were hijacked. I am deliberately speaking about aircraft, for each of us can become a victim of terrorism. Perez de Cuellar was quite right when he recently called for all countries to wage a merciless war against terrorism. And this is not just a matter for governments, but the duty of the community, for we live in a time when public opinion plays an immense role. And it is in this that I see the great significance of our meeting.

[John Marx] We have come to Moscow with two goals. Our first and most immediate goal is to suggest to the governments of our countries a number of ideas that would help establish cooperation between them in preventing acts of international terror. The second and more remote goal is the joint writing of a book. It could present the carefully analyzed approach of the United States and the Soviet Union to problems of international terrorism. Being the co-author of our project along with Igor Belyayev, I wish to say that it is based on a desire to put an end to the question of terrorism in relations between the United States and the USSR—a question linked to our past hostility and which has become a remnant of the cold war—and reach a point where the two countries consider international terrorism a joint problem. If this idea is realized the project will be a great success.

[I. Belyayev] I shall be brief, as was my colleague John Marx, the coordinator of the group of American guests. As a result of joint efforts, we have come to our preliminary definition of the subject of our attention. International terrorism consists of one of the the following situations:

a. Illegal and premeditated commission by an individual (or group) on the territory of a state of a violent act involving foreign states or international agencies or institutions and their personnel, means of international transportation and communications, and other foreign or international objects.

b. Illegal and premeditated commission by an individual (or group) of a violent act—organized or encouraged by a foreign state on the territory of another state—against national state agencies or public institutions, political or public figures, the population, or other objects. The goal of terrorism is to obtain privileges or advantages illegally from a larger group of people against whom the terrorism is immediately directed.

Of course, we do not claim that the definition of international terrorism we are using as a basis is exhaustive. But it seems to us that its appearance during the discussion helped achieve the main goal—discussion of the problem of a possible joint Soviet-American answer to international terrorism in the interest of all mankind and the whole world.

[Brian Jennings] I think I should enumerate again the issues on which we have declared a unity of viewpoints and approaches. As John Marx noted, the question of international terrorism has at times been the source of disagreements between our governments. Therefore, at first we had a certain lack of faith and a measure of skepticism regarding this meeting.

We discovered, however, that we do indeed have much in common. We came to the unanimous conclusion that international terrorism evokes the greatest concern in us. We are united in the conclusion that whatever the political motives may be, they cannot serve as a justification for terrorist acts; that there exists, albeit in the most elementary form, a legal basis for the fight against terrorism; and that there are a number of gaps in the legal basis for the fight against terrorism.

Both the United States and the Soviet Union have suffered from terrorism. Unfortunately, the United States is the most frequent target of international terrorism. During the 1980's the Soviet Union rose to the fifth most frequent target, and is now increasingly becoming the object of international terrorism.

The United States and the Soviet Union, in spite of their differences, have from time to time to a certain degree joined forces in the fight against terrorism. We have also discovered a unity of opinions regarding the fact that both sides consider manifestations of terrorism that can evoke an international crisis and lead to dangerous consequences to be a matter of greatest concern. Let us assume that the airliner hijacked in December from the Soviet Union to Israel had had an accident while landing in Tel Aviv. This would undoubtedly have led to an extremely serious international crisis and obviously would have created difficulties for the Soviet Union, Israel, and the United States. Therefore, of course, we wish to study the possibilities of creating a mechanism of cooperation to prevent the possibility of the catastrophic consequences that such an incident could have brought about.

We came here with good intentions, with a desire to cooperate, and we have before us the task of finding practical steps toward the realization of this cooperation. Speaking figuratively, we want to dance, we have spent a couple of days talking about dancing, and now we are dancing.

[John Murphy] I participated in the discussions on existing international law and legal institutions. I should like to briefly report the results of the discussions. As Mr Jennings said here, there is a legal basis for the fight against international terrorism. It must be recognized, however, that it is not being utilized effectively enough. There are gaps in the range of terrorist crimes it encompasses. We have reached agreement on a number of proposals related to this problem.

In my opinion, one of the most significant is the proposal to create a joint Soviet-American group and also a permanent committee under the aegis of the UN Security Council for the purpose of in-depth study of the effectiveness of the existing agreements concerning international terrorism. An essential aspect was the mutual recognition of the need to sign an international convention that would encompass threats and acts of violence on an international scale deliberately directed against civilian populations. It was also unanimously recognized that, in keeping with Mr Gorbachev's recent proposals, the World Court could play a certain role in resolving the disputes that arise in connection with these closed agreements on terrorism.

[G. Starushenko] I should like to continue the line of discussion begun by the international law specialist Mr Murphy. I think our meeting has shown that we basically interpret international contracts and international agreements the same way. This inspires hope. Before this, frankly, our interpretations differed significantly. There is no doubt that joint declarations from authorized participants in our meeting regarding this issue will help us cooperate with one another. In particular, we can fight jointly against terrorism and use international law to stop terrorist acts and, in the future, to eliminate terrorism.

I should also like to take note of the extraordinary nature of our meeting. How did it take place, and on such a delicate issue as international terrorism? It seems to me that this is evidence that a certain amount of confidence has grown between our nations... We were against international terrorism prior to this as well, and have never encouraged it. But at that time we believed more in those who made wrongful accusations against us. But as a result of the establishment of the new international climate, we have been responded to with the appropriate confidence. So in this case it is not we who have changed, but those with whom we are speaking. I think they will leave here with the conviction that the Soviet people are resolutely against international terrorism.

In conclusion, I should emphasize something that has been said repeatedly in our discussions: In the fight against terrorism we are and have been in favor of extensive international cooperation with the participation of all states.

[Robert Cupperman] I think that all of us in the American delegation, just like you, are products of the so-called cold war. Having for many years held leadership positions in American Government in which I dealt with problems of international security and was guided by American research on problems of the fight against international terrorism at the end of the seventies, I came here with a great deal of skepticism. I must say, however, that I was truly delighted by what I saw. We have an immense amount of work to do. We will have to try out a great deal in practice and experiment to determine how successful our cooperation can be. I certainly do not expect that everything will be resolved of its own accord, as if by magic. I clearly see the sincerity of both sides.

I know that people at a very high level in the American Government are following the course of this meeting with interest. I think (and this is my personal opinion) that a solution to critical problems, even if they are not related to international terrorism in its primary sense, is quite possible and extremely important. We are usually animated when we speak about nuclear terrorism; but we must not forget about other means of mass destruction besides nuclear weapons. Supplies of them actually exist and we must not fail to take into account the number of countries that have immense supplies of arms, or the dispersal of the most varied kinds of arms, including chemical and biological weapons, which are capable of destroying a larger number of people than nuclear weapons are. We must begin where the agreement on measures for reducing the danger of nuclear war between the USSR and the United States began: We must jointly play through a number of scenarios and see how well we deal with them. I am extremely grateful to you, but we have an enormous amount of work to do.

[Ye. Lyakhov] The problem of international terrorism is an essential, complicated, and crucial problem. This crime harms permanent human values. Therefore, the Soviet and American sides, even with their optimistic attitudes, probably did not count on the success we are having. This is a good beginning, although we have not blazed any trails. The fact is that the leaders of our countries had come a long way already. And they had created the appropriate circumstances for approaching the solution to such a difficult problem as international terrorism. Ideological differences hampered us before. I imagine that the new political thinking is this: While remaining competitors, we must strive to become partners in solving common human problems.

A good deal of space in our discussions has been devoted to the role of international law; to the solution to problems of international terrorism; and to the cooperation of our countries and all countries of the world in fighting against this evil. The legal basis is the foundation for the fight against international terrorism and opens prospects for the development of our relations.

[Geoffrey Kemp] I think I shall give our present meeting its due if I say that in our meetings we have been able to discuss the most complicated situation in what is perhaps the most alarming region of the world—the Near East. Both the Soviet Union and the United States are directly interested in it. There continue to be several extremely dangerous unresolved conflicts in this region. Here one can find more extensively than anywhere else in the world the most science-intensive kinds of arms

and the corresponding methods of waging war, including chemical and nuclear weapons. There has been a larger number of terrorist acts in this region than anywhere else.

It does not take any special imagination to see a scenario in which concrete terrorist acts could be the catalyst for another regional conflict, with the two superpowers participating on opposing sides.

We all undoubtedly welcome the improvement of American-Soviet relations, but it is extremely necessary to establish cooperation in restraining terrorism in the Near East, regardless of the condition of our relations in other spheres. During the course of our discussions it became clear that, although we hold extremely different opinions regarding certain regional conflicts and means of regulating them, the need to expand American-Soviet cooperation in the Near East will possibly be perceived by the countries of the region as something threatening.

We must recognize that successful American-Soviet cooperation in conjunction with the countries of the region can lead to an increase in terrorist acts committed by right- as well as left-wing radical groups. Regardless of this, the fact that we can hold such discussions and can talk openly both about our differences and about that which unites us in our approach to such a touchy subject as the Near East gives me confidence that our current meeting as well as subsequent ones we are planning to hold can be a real and effective contribution to restraining this threat.

[A. Shumikhin] I, like all Soviet participants in the discussion of the Near East, considered it to be profound and constructive. We have tried to understand why it is this region that has become the special "nutritive environment" for violence, cruelty, and international terrorism. In the spirit of a consensus on the approaches to solving the problems raised before the people, we have analyzed both the symptoms of the painful situation in the region and its "organic chemistry," and we have made a diagnosis. In the future, the subject of our special attention could, no, should be arms trade and the regional arms race.

From the standpoint of the difficult problems facing us, we discussed the crucial conflict and crisis situations arising in the region. We devoted special attention to revealing the common interests of our countries in overcoming these situations. At the same time, we analyzed the interests of the immediate participants in the conflicts and also the possible ways of enlisting all of them in the process of the fight against international terrorism. All peoples of the Near East and the entire world community are interested in creating an attitude of intolerance toward terrorism, in overcoming the conditions that generate this evil, and in organizing an effective system of warnings and prevention of terror.

[V. Romanov] I do not wish to lead the readers into the quicksand of international law, but as a citizen of a country that is striving to create a rule-of-law state I should like to emphasize the social significance of what we have done in the sphere of international-legal means of fighting international terrorism. In essence, we recommend expanding and strengthening the international-legal base of the fight against this evil, and thus expanding and strengthening the foundations of legality in international relations. But we are not discussing conflicts of a legal nature. We have tried to orient our two countries and all the international community toward the adoption of practical measures to eliminate international terrorism from the life of mankind. We have devoted special attention to the possibilities of the UN. And we are trying to draw the attention of this authoritative agency to problems of international terrorism. We are operating neither in a vacuum nor in an empty place. The Security Council, as I recall, has already discussed terrorism in all of its forms and manifestations, and regardless of who resorts to it. We have not tried to create bilateral hegemony. By turning to the UN we are turning to the entire world community. But we recognize the responsibility of our two countries in the fight against international terrorism.

[O. Prudkov] Our guest is Margaret Milkhauzer. In my opinion she is a remarkable functionary. Her profession is fairly rare; we do not have such a thing, a mediator of conflicts. We ask her to discuss our work in Moscow.

[Margaret Milkhauzer] I am no expert on international terrorism. I am a specialist in mediating disagreements. Initially, it was suggested that my role in today's conference would be to help the participants overcome possible areas of disagreement and other things that could impede a favorable outcome to the discussions, and to clarify those issues on which the views of the parties are the same and in which it would be possible to cooperate. But as it turned out, participants in this conference can get along very well without any assistance from the outside. Therefore, my task was not so much to search for possible areas of disagreement as to systematize the multitude of ideas put forth in the sections and at the plenary meeting in order to take maximum advantage of the capabilities of the participants in the conference. In conclusion, I should like to say that our meeting is a model of the quality of communication that all specialists in mediating disagreements advise. In my view, the participants in the conference deserve the highest praise for this.

[Brian Jennings] We have an old saying: The buffalo should graze in his own meadow. Restructuring is not my meadow, but I wish to say something about it. In the first place, in the United States there are still people who consider restructuring to be some kind of trap intended to force the United States to lower its defense level.

In the second place, there is the fear that restructuring is the brainchild of one person—Mikhail Gorbachev. And this leads to the fear that Gorbachev will not be able to

hold out for very long. Might it not happen that some morning we will awaken and find him replaced by someone else, with the politics of the Soviet Union then changing just as drastically as it has during the past 3-4 years?

Third, there is the fear that restructuring does not have enough support in the Soviet Union itself, that Gorbachev can count only on a handful of high ranking party leaders and some of the Soviet intelligentsia, but that the main mass of government bureaucrats are against restructuring while the majority of the people are indifferent, and therefore cannot be counted among its supporters. I am saying all these things not as conclusions but as questions on behalf of American citizens who are delighted by what is going on in the Soviet Union, and who would like to believe that everything taking place there will be successful, but who at the same time have serious questions.

[I. Belyayev] Here are certain results of our week's work. We have looked each other in the eye. The meeting in Moscow was the first. We have reached agreement or expressed similar views on all the problems we discussed. We have gotten by without mutual suspicion, discussing things frankly and with open hearts. We have agreed that we shall write and publish a book by Soviet and American experts and journalists on problems of fighting international terrorism. We have agreed on future contacts.

Finally, our main achievement was that we created a "Soviet-American Society for Jointly Fighting International Terrorism." We specifically stipulated that, in the future, representatives of other countries could join this society. Its main goal is to move the governments and authorities of the United States and the Soviet Union toward a joint response to international terrorism. It seems to me that it is possible to carry out such a difficult task. I am grateful to our American guests for their goodwill and desire to cooperate. There is a large amount of work ahead.

[O. Prudkov] Our times inspire in me—and, I think, in all of us—the hope that the noble work in which we are engaged will have results and make a contribution to the fight against international terrorism which, I repeat once again, has not only legal and political aspects, but also affects each individual who flies in airplanes, walks down the street, goes into stores, and so forth. We are ultimately working and should be working for the sake of the protection of people.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Rogachev, Thai Foreign Minister Hold Talks

Cambodian Situation Discussed

LD2703112289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0953 GMT 27 Mar 89

[Text] Bangkok, 27 Mar (TASS)—USSR Deputy Foreign Minister I.A. Rogachev met today with Thai Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila. During the conversation, which was conducted in a frank and friendly atmosphere, an exchange of opinions took place on issues of bilateral relations and the development of the situation in Southeast Asia, including the situation around Cambodia.

Both sides emphasized that the Cambodian problem can be settled only by peaceful means and on the basis of the national reconciliation policy; furthermore, internal issues should be resolved by the Khmers themselves. Both sides expressed the desire to assist a more active quest for ways to unblock the Cambodian conflict and to promote consolidation of the trend emerging in Southeast Asia—away from confrontation and toward relaxation of tension and good-neighborliness.

On the same day, Soviet-Thai consultations took place on problems in Southeast Asia. On the Soviet side the talks were conducted by I.A. Rogachev, and on the Thai side by Kasemsamoson Kasemsi, permanent secretary at the Foreign Ministry.

Sino-Soviet Summit Discussed

BK2703092989 Bangkok THE NATION in English 27 Mar 89 Afternoon Edition p 3

[Text] Thailand and the Soviet Union agreed this morning that warring Kampuchean factions must iron out their differences regarding the peace settlement process if permanent peace is to be achieved in the Indochinese state, Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila said this morning.

ACM [Air Chief Marshal] Sitthi told reporters after meeting with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev that the talks focused primarily on attempts to solve the Kampuchean conflict.

The foreign minister added that Rogachev and himself also discussed preparations for the Sino-Soviet summit in May, of which Rogachev is in charge.

Rogachev said his discussion with Sitthi was "friendly and frank" on the Kampuchean problem, the upcoming visit of Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov and other bilateral issues.

The Soviet deputy foreign minister said agreement on the peace settlement process is a prerequisite for peace in the war-torn state.

"The exchange of views today is very useful and both countries are eager to make the peace process a success," he said. "We shall do our best. By we, I mean, Thailand, the Soviet Union and other countries concerned."

Rogachev, who arrived for a four-day visit Saturday night, was also scheduled to hold talks with Permanent Secretary for Foreign Affairs Kasemsamoson Kasemsi this afternoon. Both will lay groundworks for Ryzhkov visit, which is expected sometime in the latter half of May.

Ryzhkov was scheduled to visit Thailand in January but the trip was postponed following the devastating earthquake in Armenia late last year.

Rogachev will also address the annual meeting of the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific.

Maslyukov, PRK Planning Minister Meet 27 Mar

LD2703191389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 27 Mar 89

[Text] Comrade Maslyukov today received Chea Chanto, minister of planning of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. During the conversation, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, issues concerning the development of commercial and economic cooperation between the two countries were discussed.

Filipinos Increasingly Opposed to U.S. Bases

OW2303003089 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Ivanov commentary]

[Text] Forty-two years ago, on 14 March 1947, the United States and the Philippines signed an agreement on deploying U.S. military bases on Philippine soil. The agreement will expire September 1991. The existence of U.S. bases has now become a crucial political issue in the Philippines. Ivanov, an observer of this station, writes the following:

The United States' Subic Naval Base and Clark Air Base in the Philippines play a very important role in the Pentagon's Pacific and global strategies. This was mentioned by former U.S. President Reagan on various occasions. High-ranking U.S. generals have been talking about this as well. This is also why Washington wishes to keep these bases, by hook or crook, after 1991.

People in the Philippines have become more and more disgusted with the U.S. military presence. With the consciousness for national self-determination growing among the Filipinos, the call for strengthening national sovereignty and independence has become louder and louder. In view of this, we can take it for granted that a foreign military presence is obviously unwelcome. In a speech last month at the Subic Naval Base, Ramos, Philippine defense secretary, seemed to reflect this sentiment when he said: It is possible for the Philippines to independently defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity. The secretary said: If we can't rely on our own forces, we are far from independent. Our comments on this are: Filipinos from all walks of life have become more and more convinced that the U.S. bases are [words indistinct] rather than aimed at defending the Philippines, as mentioned by some high-ranking U.S. officials. Few people believe the Philippines is under threat.

The time-honored myth of the so-called Soviet threat is vanishing as well. A recent speech by Philippine Vice President Laurel has received wide attention. He urged the Aquino government to suggest that the United States and the Philippines form a bilateral consultative committee on joint defense to reexamine and appraise the roles of military facilities set up in the Philippines by the Pentagon, and to consider, in his words, the interaction between the superpowers in their move toward global detente and nuclear disarmament. Laurel said: It is necessary for the Philippine Foreign Minister and the U.S. secretary of state to have a meeting. They should carefully consider, from the standpoint of ongoing Soviet reform and the new Bush administration, whether or not there is a need to keep the Clark Base and Subic Naval Base. The speech by Soviet leader Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk last autumn has also contributed to Filipinos' antibase sentiment. As we all know, the speech indicated that the Soviet Union is willing to give up its material and technological supply station in Vietnam's Cam Ranh Bay if the United States will abandon its military bases in the Philippines. This and other proposals presented by Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk have reasserted that the Soviet Union will strive for security in the Asia-Pacific region. This completely rebuts ridiculous remarks about the Soviet threat.

Those who advocate termination of the U.S. military bases agreement in 1991 also analyze the other aspect of the issue. For example, they have maintained that, if the land occupied by U.S. bases is effectively and reasonably utilized, it will produce handsome economic returns. In fact, the bases occupy 17,000 hectares of land, which could be used for agricultural or other purposes. Either a large ship repair complex or a large harbor capable of accommodating giant ships could be built in the Subic Base area. Clark Air Base, whose runway can accommodate civilian planes of any kind, can be easily rebuilt as a modern international airport.

According to a Philippine Senate decision, a special committee set up at the end of last year should extensively study [words indistinct] and eliminate all problems relating to the U.S. military bases. There is not much time left before the U.S.-Philippine base agreement expires. The base issue must be solved in less than 3 years. As Philippine President Aquino said in Guangzhou in late February: We shall consider all conditions when solving this issue, and will first consider the Filipino people's interests. Obviously, the Filipino people are expecting such a decision.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan National Council Appeal Urges Peace

PM2703155189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the rubric "Panorama of International Events" and general headline: "Afghanistan: New Fighting, New Victims"]

[Text] Kabul, 24 Mar—The Republic of Afghanistan National Council has appealed to the governments,

parliaments, and peoples of the world to do everything within their power to ensure the earliest cessation of the war and restoration of peace and security in Afghanistan. In the 2 years that have elapsed since the proclamation of the national reconciliation policy, the document points out, important political events have taken place in the life of the Afghan state. A constitution and laws on political parties and the press have been drafted and ratified, and a coalition government has been set up. The parliament has resumed its activity after a 15-year break.

The Afghan Government has created the requisite conditions for refugees to return home and has held talks with the representatives of all social groups in the population and political forces within and outside the country on the question of participation in government on a very broad basis. The signing of the Geneva agreements to settle the situation around Afghanistan was a most important event. The USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan have rigorously abided by the spirit and the letter of Geneva. The last Soviet soldier left Afghan territory strictly within schedule. Afghanistan and the Soviet Union have submitted a number of constructive initiatives in the international arena—in particular, proposals on holding an international conference on the demilitarization of Afghanistan, the cessation of arms shipments to the sides involved in the armed conflict, a complete cease-fire, and the resolution of all contentious issues through peaceful political dialogue.

However, these peace initiatives have not met with a positive response from the governments of Pakistan and the United States. From the very moment the Geneva agreements were signed Pakistan has openly flouted them by continuing to supply weapons to extremist opposition formations and to send into Afghanistan from its territory rebel detachments which exterminate peaceful inhabitants, block roads, and attack food convoys, condemning their compatriots to starvation and privations.

The Pakistani authorites, the appeal says, have revealed their expansionist plans by announcing their intention to create a so-called "Afghan-Pakistani confederation" and in effect join Afghanistan to Pakistan. Sizable Pakistani troop units offering open support to rebel formations have massed on the border with the Republic of Afghanistan. A mujahidin "provisional government" that lacks not only the support of the Afghan people within and outside the country but also that of a considerable proportion of the opposition, including the "Eight-Member Alliance" based in Iran, was set up with direct assistance from Pakistan.

The U.S. Administration has not ceased its arms shipments to the Afghan opposition. On the contrary, violating its pledges as guarantor of the Geneva agreements, it is continuing to kindle the flames of war on Afghan territory.

Afghan Government's Position 'Strengthening'

LD2703172689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 27 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report from Afghanistan by A. Shkirando]

[Text] Instability—that is probably how the situation in Afghanistan can now be described. The situation is complex. At the same time, it is clear that the rebels do not have sufficient forces for broad scale offensive operations. As far as the government is concerned, by all accounts its position is gradually strengthening.

[Shkirando] Despite the fact that millions of Pushtuns and Baluchis have found themselves on different sides of the Afghan-Pakistan border through the will of fate, they continue to be unified by their common language, culture, customs, and traditions. At a time when the administrative center of Nangarhar Province—the city of Jalalabad—is seriously threatened as a result of massive attacks by extremists actively supported by the Pakistani military, all Pashtuns and Baluchis of Pakistan have come out in defense of the national interests of their fellow tribesmen who live in Afghanistan. Abdul Wali Khan, chairman of the Pakistan People's National Party, said at meeting of 1000 people that Islamabad's hostile policy toward Afghanistan contradicts the interests of Pakistan itself. And Mahmud Khan Achekzai, chairman of the National People's Alliance of Pushtunistan [names as heard], stated in his speech that previously some Afghans living in Peshawar expressed the opinion that as soon as the Soviet troops left Afghanistan, the bloodshed would stop immediately. However, the war has not only not ended—on the contrary it has become even larger in scale.

The situation around Jalalabad countinues to be very complex. Yesterday alone 12,000 rockets and mortars were fired on the city. As a result of such barbaric bombardment, civilians are dying every day, and houses and buildings belonging to the state are being destroyed. As has happened many times before, mosques and other sacred places of Islam are suffering at the hands of the so-called fighters for the faith. At the moment it is difficult to predict the development of the situation around Jalalabad. But this city, which is a kind of symbol for all Afghans, will still stand up for itself.

Opposition Support for Convening Assembly Noted

PM2803075389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Mar 89 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[Dispatch by PRAVDA special correspondent V. Snegirev: "In Peshawar They Prefer Bloodshed..."]

[Text] Kabul, 25 Mar—The Afghan press is focusing attention on the interview with E.A. Shevardnadze published in PRAVDA 24 March. It is also being comprehensively discussed by Western correspondents in Kabul. Our colleagues are commenting in detail on the

Soviet foreign minister's analysis of the Afghan situation and his constructive proposals on settling the conflict, and are paying tribute to the Soviet leadership's consistent implementation of the Geneva agreements. Many journalists pay special attention to the minister's assurance that any attempts by the opposition to encroach on the security of our citizens living in Afghanistan will encounter a most resolute response. The Kabul press is at pains to draw readers' attention to numerous instances of Pakistani interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs.

I have met with many Afghans recently, not just official representatives. Conversations with traders, religious figures, tribal authorities, and officials of former regimes have convinced me that the idea of national reconciliation and of creating a coalition government, as put forward by Kabul and backed by Moscow, is taking root in the consciousness of many sober-minded people.

Anyone who is deeply involved with the Afghan problem, who knows the disposition of forces and has a realistic view of the situation will have realized long ago that there can be no alternative to a political solution. Dialogue involving all the warring sides and the creation of a broad-based government—this is the only path to peace in this land. Incidentally, those islands of stability which exist today on the territory of Afghanistan are based, as a rule, on treaties between the local administration and the commanders of groupings operating there, on the achievement of reasonable compromises, and on both sides' awareness of their responsibility to the people.

But the extremists remain faithful to the other path, opting for military force, continuing terror, and the escalation of sabotage. What this means is clearly evident in Jalalabad: thousands of casualties and more suffering for civilians... And, in the end, an impasse.

Jalalabad has badly shaken the mujahidin's faith in the possibility of victory over the existing government and made them think hard. According to unofficial reports from Peshawar, certain opposition leaders are cautiously expressing consent to the holding of a Loya Jirga in Afghanistan involving representatives of Kabul. Others are very reluctant to send their people anywhere near Jalalabad. The failure of the blitzkrieg plans has given rise to annoyance and uncertainty in the opposition camp.

But, according to the evidence of rebel prisoners, Pakistani intelligence officers are stepping up the pressure on field commanders, demanding that they get into the city at all costs. They are in a hurry because 7 April marks the start of Ramadan, the Muslim Lent, when combat actions inevitably become less intense.

Further detachments are heading to Jalalabad from Pakistan and a considerable rebel force is massing around the city. There has been a simultaneous increase in mujahidin activity in Qandahar Province, which people attribute to the "diehards'" desire to fight against the government forces on several fronts at once. A large formation of extremists, including a Pakistani militia detachment, was routed not far from Qandahar yesterday.

There has been no change in the past 24 hours in the situation around Jalalabad. Some 4,500 rockets and mortars were fired at the city, resulting in more civilian casualties. Helicopters brought ammunition from Kabul. Some was dropped from transport aircraft by parachute. Rebel positions have been hit by missiles and bombs.

Alas, the opposition still prefers "gun dialogue" to peace talks.

Attacks on Jalalabad, Qandahar, Konduz Repulsed
LD2703212289 Moscow TASS in English 2102 GMT 27 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 28 TASS—Afghan opposition troops, supported by the Pakistani Army, launched a large-scale offensive on Jalalabad Saturday, firing more than 12,000 rockets, shells and mines at the city's residential quarters, a spokesman for the Afghan Foreign Ministry told reporters.

The rebels used tanks and armoured personnel carriers in the fighting. They were also assisted by 110 Pakistani and Saudi military instructors.

Afghan warplanes delivered strikes at areas of rebels' deployment and their firing positions and military supply columns. The rebels were repulsed.

Governmental troops also rebuffed an opposition offensive on the airport of the city of Qandahar.

Rebels committed a barbarous crime against Afghan civilians Sunday. They opened fire at a column of buses which were carrying passengers from Jalalabad to Kabul.

According to reports reaching here, 21 people were killed and more than 30 wounded. The victims included children and women.

Rebels also shelled the city of Konduz, killing one citizen and wounding four others.

Governmental troops opened retaliatory artillery fire at rebels' deployment areas, killing 190 extremists and wounding 70 more. Four enemy rocket launchers and tens of guns were neutralised, and two arms and munitions depots destroyed.

UN representatives in Kabul resumed the distribution of food among needy citizens for the first time since mid-February when UN food supplies by air from Pakistan were stopped.

A UN representative said that the food distributed in the Afghan capital included mainly flour, sugar and milk powder supplied by the Soviet Union as part of its 600-million-dollar contribution to the UN Afghan Relief Fund.

The FRANCE PRESSE News Agency said that food is delivered to Kabul from the Soviet Union and Pakistan, but only Soviet supplies are distributed among the needy population whereas Pakistani-supplied food is sold on markets at prices which are too high for the majority of Kabul citizens.

The Afghan opposition said one of its leaders, Gulbuddin Hikmaytar, on March 25 for the first time visited rebel groups fighting near Jalalabad. However, he was slightly wounded in an air raid by Afghan Air Force planes and returned to Peshawar.

The United States' ambassador to Pakistan met President Sebghatullah Mujadeddi and prime minister of the "transitional government" Abdul Rasul Sayyaf in Islamabad.

He conveyed to them the U.S. Administration's concern over the growing of opium poppy on opposition-controlled territories. The administration thinks that drug-smuggling may undermine the opposition's hopes for large-scale U.S. aid for the country's reconstruction, he said.

Heavy Shelling of Jalalabad; Fighting in Herat

LD2803101889 Moscow TASS in English 0949 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 28 TASS—Over the past twenty-four hours, intransigent opposition groups again massively rocketed and shelled residential blocks of the city of Jalalabad, the administrative centre of Nangarhar Province, killing five civilians, wounding 14, and destroying three houses.

Afghan Army units carried out an operation to rout an anti-government group in the eastern suburbs of Herat, killing 14 adversaries of people's power. Six insurgents were killed in Helmand Province.

The personnel of the Afghan Ministry of State Security discovered a cache in Shakar Darreh District, Kabul Province, with more than 150 kilograms of trotyl [as received], a large amount of magnetic mines and other explosive devices.

The explosives and mines belonging to the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" were intended for staging terrorist acts in the Afghan capital.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry sent another four notes to the UN Good Offices Mission, giving new facts of violations of the provisions of the Geneva Agreement by Pakistan.

Filling stations again function in Kabul after almost a two-month interval. Although queues at filling stations are still long, it is planned fully to provide taxicabs and minibuses, which carry passengers in the capital, with fuel soon, according to official data.

'Major' New Jalalabad Offensive May Begin Soon

PM2703162789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 3

[IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Ivanko dispatch: "Afghanistan: Fighting Around Qandahar and Jalalabad"]

[Text] Government troops have repulsed the mujahidin offensive against Qandahar. Competent organs have stated that 172 oppositionists have been killed and 200 wounded, with 92 bodies abandoned on the battlefield by the retreating mujahidin. According to certain data, 30 refugee families have returned from Pakistan to Qandahar.

The situation in the Jalalabad area remains stable. However, it is expected that the "hard-liners" may begin a major offensive in the next few days.

It has also become known here that there are still skirmishes within the opposition ranks. In Konduz, for instance, there have been clashes between the Rabbani and Nabi Muhammadi groupings. There are dead and wounded. In an effort to explain their failure in the fight for Jalalabad, the mujahidin have begun to spread rumors that Soviet units numbering between 500 and 900 men have allegedly arrived here. But IZVESTIYA's correspondent has received confirmation that there is not a single Soviet soldier in the Jalalabad area.

Of course, Western mass media interest in events in Afghanistan is not subsiding. Every day in the Intercontinental Hotel, colleagues from Britain and Western European countries and also the United States discuss the situation in the country. I decided to talk to MIDDLE EAST journal correspondent Nick Danzmger [last name as transliterated], who is a well-known Afghanistan specialist. He is renowned for having travelled across Afghan territory on foot with the mujahidin in 1984, a trip that he has described in his book.

"To be honest, I suppose the war will continue. People have not fought for 10 years to say 'no' now," Nick believes. "That is why people in the West believe the mujahidin enjoy the support of the entire population. That is not so. Thousands of people are also on the government's side. Moreover, many people, particularly women, are afraid of Hikmatyar's militant fundamentalism."

Danzmger agrees with reports that Pakistani servicemen are involved in the fighting around Jalalabad.

"Pakistan has still not realized what people in Britain and the USSR have realized: Namely, that anyone who teaches an Afghan how to behave usually suffers greatly for his pains..."

Journalists' attention is still drawn to the problem of the airlift from the Soviet Union. I travelled to the capital's airport to see for myself that it is in operation. The 13th Il-76 in succession that day had just landed there.

"They've brought another 25 tonnes of flour," V. Bukanov, vice president of the "Afsotr" Afghan-Soviet transport company, said. "We expect another five consignments by the end of today."

"How long do you usually stop at the airport," I asked Soviet navigators.

"A total of 50 minutes from landing to takeoff. Admittedly, that's if a truck with loaders arrives on time," A. Chesnokov, on his seventh trip to Kabul Airport, estimated...

At present, flights are proceeding normally. Special security measures are being taken: the aircraft are discharging flares.

Afghan Rebels Again Straddling Salang Highway

PM2203120389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[Report by special correspondent V. Snegirev: "On New Year's Eve"]

[Excerpt] Kabul—[passage omitted] That is how Nowruz [New Year's] has turned out this year—with an obvious smell of gunpowder, with endless talk about the republic's fate, and with the din of bursts of machinegun fire outside the windows. The country was greeting the New Year in a somewhat unaccustomed fashion, a new situation in recent years—without the Soviet troops who had for 9 years served as a bulwark in the struggle against the opposition detachments. That is an important factor and it determines nothing more nor less than the viability of the existing regime and its real potential.

Another circumstance close to everyone, as they say, is the Pakistani military's direct participation in the fighting near Jalalabad. The situation there remains very complex. To all appearances the "implacable opposition" has decided to take this city even if half the rebel troops fall at its walls. The storming of Jalalabad, which the enemy calls, not without reason, "the gates leading to Kabul," has been continuing for 15 days now. All civilian life there has essentially been halted: The shops and schools have been closed and inhabitants are not allowed to leave their houses. Over 1,000 rockets have fallen on residential quarters and the explosions have destroyed a hospital and mosque, and many buildings have been reduced to ruins.

The 24 hours I spent in Afghanistan was too short a time for serious observations and conclusions. That is why I shall limit myself for the time being to information about current events which took place in the first hours of the New Year.

Early on the morning of 19 March 100 trucks carrying grain for the Afghan capital left for Kabul from the border city of Hayratan. Soviet volunteers were driving 50 KamAZ trucks. It was planned that the convoy, escorted by an Afghan convoy, would cover the 500 km journey in 2-3 days. But there was a sudden deterioration in the situation at the Salang Pass, where Ahmad Shah's detachments have again straddled the strategic highway in several places. Under these conditions it was deemed inexpedient to proceed any further. Yesterday the grain was unloaded onto elevators in Pol-e Khomri City and our trucks returned to the Amudarya.

In all, 600 Soviet volunteer drivers, mainly from the Central Asian republics, have offered to take part in these risky transport operations.

As yet the air bridge remains the main transport artery. Restored by our airmen after an interval of a month, it has firmly linked Tashkent and Kabul. IL-76 and AN-12 aircraft are delivering flour and other national economic freight. Today Kabul, with a population of 2.2 million, consumes at least 400 tonnes of flour a day. There is a shortage of flour. The bread lines are a new detail in the capital. Indeed, many things are lacking: The gasoline situation is bad and prices for meat have increased horribly. That is why far from all households tasted the festive pilaf.

And yesterday brought mourning to some families: One person was killed and four wounded after the latest shelling of the capital. It has become known that it there were plans to subject Kabul to massive shelling during the night. But a preemptive strike was delivered against the rebel positions and so the people of Kabul slept relatively peacefully.

Alas, that cannot be said of the inhabitants of Nangarhar Province. For many of them the past night was truly terrible. Here is what happened. Having concentrated large-scale forces in the region of the population centers of Samarkheyl and Khushkumbad [place name as transliterated] in the evening the enemy made fierce new attempts to break through to the airport and the city. By 2100 hours the rebels had achieved some successes, coming within 0.5 km of the airfield to the south and seizing five government troop posts. The attack was mounted with powerful rocket and artillery support. According to information from the military command from Jalalabad, at 0230 hours at night the republic's forces delivered a retaliatory strike and regained the lost positions. And so the enemy has been thrust back again.

But the morning of the New Year was overcast and rainy in the capital. Because of the bad weather the program for the traditional people's walk in Babura [name as transliterated] garden had to be considerably reduced.

In his televised New Year address to his compatriots, Afghan President Najibullah in particular urged the commanders of the armed formations operating inside Afghanistan to end the senseless bloodshed, for whose continuation no pretexts remain, and to rebuff the Pakistani military encroaching on Afghanistan's independence.

That is what the New Year was like here.

Freight Convoys Resume on Hayratan-Kabul Road

PM2803110189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Mar 89 p 3

[APN correspondent V. Generalov dispatch: "Grain for Kabul"]

[Text] Kabul—Traffic along the highway linking Hayratan (on the Afghan-Soviet border) and Kabul has been resumed following a break of 1 month. The first convoy of 101 trucks delivered 1,500 tonnes of wheat for the population of Afghanistan's Baghlan Province. On this occasion, Afghan drivers were joined by Soviet drivers behind the wheels of about half of the trucks.

Following the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, the implacable opposition started banking on economic blockade of some of the country's regions and especially of Kabul. The situation was aggravated by adverse weather conditions and heavy snowfalls along the Salang Pass.

As a result of a series of successful operations by government troops, the implacable opposition's detachments were driven away from the roadside. The highway was reopened. A large quantity of freight arriving from the USSR had accumulated in Hayratan by that time. The Afghan leadership then approached the Soviet Union with a request for assistance in delivering foodstuffs and prime necessities for the population.

The Soviet side decided that the "Sovtransavto" Motor Vehicle Transport Enterprise in Termez should transfer 500 trucks free of charge to the Hayratan branch of the "Afsotr" Soviet-Afghan Joint Stock Company and second Soviet drivers to Afghanistan.

"Until today, our vehicles carried cargoes only as far as Mazar-e Sharif, the administrative center of Balkh Province," I was told by Narmokhammad Imamkulov, [name as published] general director of "Sovtransavto" in Termez. "Soviet drivers will now have to transport most important national economic freight to different regions of Afghanistan.

"When 'Sovtransavto' announced the recruitment of drivers for the transportation of freight on Afghan territory, we received applications from quite a few people willing to do so. The determining selection criterion was drivers' professional training and their experience in the transportation of freight along mountain highways in the hot climate of Central Asia. The first convoy with Soviet drivers was assembled within 3 days."

The convoy was accompanied by a combat escort comprising five armored personnel carriers of the Afghan Armed Forces and soldiers from an Afghan mountain battalion.

All drivers are aware of the importance of their mission in assisting the Afghan population. "Earlier, the Afghans were helped by Soviet military motor vehicle transportation units in the delivery of freight from the USSR," driver Valikul Kurbanov, one of the participants in the first trip, told me. "Following the withdrawal of Soviet troops, we civilian drivers will be performing this task."

Further Reportage on Yazov Visit to Syria 27 Mar

Seen Off From Moscow by Leaders

PM2803110589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Mar 89 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Official Visit"]

[Text] Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, left Moscow 27 March on an official visit to Damascus at the invitation of Syrian Defense Minister General M. Talas.

He was seen off at the airport by N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister; Army General P.G. Lushev and Army General K.A. Kochetov, USSR first deputy defense ministers; Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; and other officials.

The send-off party included I. al-Na'ib, Syrian ambassador to the USSR.

Meets With Syrian Counterpart

LD2803110889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0833 GMT 28 March

[Text] Damascus March 28 TASS—General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov, alternate member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and Soviet defense minister, staying in Syria on an official visit, met with his Syrian counterpart, General Mustafa Talas on Monday.

A wide range of problems of mutual concern were discussed during the conversation, which was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

The sides pointed out the mutual striving for the further deepening and development of cooperation between the Soviet Union and Syria in all fields, including defense.

It was emphasized that this versatile cooperation meets the basic interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Syrian Arab Republic and serves to promote the cause of ensuring security and stability in the Middle East and strengthening universal peace.

Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, today arrived at the town of Al Ladhiqiyah.

The Soviet military delegation visited a number of Syrian Navy installations and had a meeting with Syrian sailors.

USSR Foreign Ministry Consultations on Mideast

LD2803110989 Moscow TASS in English 1049 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—Consultations were held at the Soviet Foreign Ministry on Tuesday within the framework of the Soviet-Palestinian committee on the Middle East. Participants in the consultations discussed questions connected with the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and preparations for the convocation of an international conference.

U.S., PLO Continue Talks on Mideast Issues

PM2803102989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Roundup compiled by A. Portanskiy in Algiers and D. Velikhiy in Cairo: "United States-PLO: Dialogue Continues"]

[Text] The second official meeting of U.S. and PLO representatives took place Wednesday in Tunis. According to reports in the media, they discussed in detail for the first time the problem of achieving peace in the region. Following the conversation, which lasted 4 and ½ hours, both sides gave its results a positive rating, although they did not agree where the process of a Near East settlement should start.

PLO delegation head Ya. Abd Rabbuh, member of the PLO Executive Committee, told journalists: "Any measures to create the proper atmosphere at the talks must have as their starting point recognition of our people's right to self-determination and the creation of an independent state and the cessation of the Israeli occupation."

In turn, U.S. delegation head Ambassador R. Pelletreau announced that he had asked the PLO to do everything necessary to prepare for direct Israeli-Palestinian talks and to reduce tension on the West Bank of the River Jordan and in the Gaza Strip.

The PLO position at the talks with the U.S. delegation arises directly out of the peace program put forward by PLO Executive Committee Chairman Y. 'Aarafat at the UN General Assembly session in Geneva last December. As is known, the crux of this initiative was an all-embracing settlement with the equal participation of all sides in the conflict, including the Palestinian state, Israel, and other Arab countries within the framework of an international peace conference and on the basis of UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338.

It was after this speech by Y. 'Arafat, literally the next day, that the U.S. President instructed the State Department to enter into an official dialogue with the PLO. The first meeting between the two delegations was a sensation. One hopes that the second round of talks that has now taken place will make regular contacts between the United States and the PLO possible.

Our Cairo correspondent called Jerusalem and asked Israeli Foreign Ministry official spokesman Doctor A. Liyel [name as transliterated] to comment on the Tunis meeting.

"We are not following these talks," he replied. "Basically, they do not interest us, because our government's stance rules out dialogue with PLO representatives."

[Velikhiy] But what can you say about the statements by your country's foreign minister, M. Arens, after his visit to the United States, in which he did not rule out the possibility of talks with people sympathetic to the PLO in the occupied territories?

[Liyel] M. Arens firmly stated that he was referring to dialogue not with members of the PLO, but with Palestinians who are sympathetic in one way or another to that organization....

In the Israeli government, the Foreign Ministry spokesman went on to explain, there are two ministers who advocate dialogue with the PLO. They are Science and Technology Minister E. Weizman and Minister without Portfolio M. Gur. But they are only 2 out of 26 members.

[Velikhiy] What can you say generally about Israeli feelings regarding the idea of talks with the Palestinians?

[Liyel] Judging by public opinion polls, no fewer than 50 percent of Israelis are in favor of talks. But many of them put forward provisos."

There is nothing particularly new in this figure, it must be said. But there is evidence of a shift in the opinions of some members of the Israeli Government. A prime

example of this is a statement by Israeli Deputy Finance Minister Y. Beylin [name as transliterated], who considers that Labor Party representatives must have contacts with the PLO, even if this leads to the collapse of the country's coalition government. A government crisis is nothing, he reckons, compared with the danger of a continuing explosive situation in the occupied territories.

East Europe

Visit of Hungary's Grosz to USSR Viewed

Hungarian, USSR Reform Trends 'Similar'

PM2803084389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit's Results"]

[Text] Budapest, 25 Mar—MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] General Secretary K. Grosz gave an interview to Hungarian journalists on board an aircraft on his way home to Budapest in which he highly rated the results of his working visit to Moscow and talks with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Answering questions from a NEPSZABADSAG correspondent, the Hungarian leader pointed out that the talks in Moscow were characterized by an atmosphere of openness, sincerity, and constructiveness and were evidence of complete trust. The Soviet Union wants to see Hungary advance along the correct path, just as Hungary wants to see the USSR develop in a similar direction. The Soviet leaders highly rate and support Hungary's foreign policy course. The USSR is interested in all constructive initiatives put forward by socialist states.

In an interview for Hungarian television, the MSZMP general secretary noted that political ties between the CPSU and MSZMP are developing dynamically and harmoniously. During the talks with M.S. Gorbachev matters of improving CEMA's activity were examined. The direction of the organization's future development should be determined in the near future.

The political reform trends in our countries are remarkably similar. The Soviet leaders took a sympathetic, practical view of the issue of the introduction of a multiparty system in Hungary. At the same time, it was noted that in the Soviet Union the same political goals can be attained within the framework of a one-party system. It was pointed out at the talks that the solution of this question is the business of the individual party, individual people, and individual country, K. Grosz stressed in conclusion.

No Alternative to Socialism in Hungary

LD2403184989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1543 GMT 24 Mar 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Igor Kudrin]

[Text] As you are aware, Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, is in our country on a working visit. He had a meeting today with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. [video shows still photograph of meeting] You can find out about the details of the conversation on the "Vremya" program. Now, however, I would like to draw your attention to an article published by the Budapest NEPSZABADSAG newspaper in connection with this important visit. Hungary is continuing to proceed along the path of renewal of the socialist society, and it has no other alternative. The successes in Gorbachev's policy improve our chances, the newspaper says. However, it is also clear that any return to the past in the Soviet Union would bring about a deterioration in international conditions. In the future, too, Hungary cannot reject the development of proper [korrektnyy] relations of alliance and cooperation with the USSR. This accords with the national interests of the country. In the political sphere, we must rid relations of the burden which has accumulated in recent decades.

USSR Holding Door Open for Ties With Albania

LD2603201289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1357 GMT 26 Mar 89

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Nikolay Shishlin: "Profile" by Tatyana Mitkova]

[Excerpts] [Shishlin] Now we would like to devote some attention to a country that rarely appears on our television screens, and indeed, virtually has not appeared at all for many, many years now. The country in question is Albania.

[Tatyana Mitkova, identified by screen caption] [passage omitted] The southern town of Tirana awakens at dawn. The working day begins at 0700 and lasts, without a lunch break, until 1500. People go to work here on bicycles. This is the most widespread means of transport, but you can get there on foot, or on buses that have already served their turn in France and therefore been bought cheaply. There are no private motor vehicles here, but the air, particularly in winter, cannot be called clean. There is no central heating, and the smoke from numerous stoves forms real smog over the town.

The apartment blocks here generally have four stories, but four eight-story apartment blocks were built recently. These adorn the center, next to the hotel for foreign tourists. [video shows shots of smog-covered town, large squares, people milling about, little traffic, exterior of Hotel Tirana] They have no elevators, true, and the water does not always reach the upper floors. This is how

the town looks in January, but as sunny days arrive, the lush green and the lawns with rose bushes create an illusion of eternal spring here, they say.

It seems that only young people live in this country. This is not an optical illusion. Albania is a young nation. The average age is 26. The Albanians work, study at the university, study foreign languages, and read world classics in the original. A heightened interest in modern Western culture is considered a manifestation of bad taste here. In a word, the average Albanian is disciplined, is educated, and has gone through the team leaders' working school. He has grown accustomed to being proud of his country's successes.

Since 1976, despite very severe droughts, Albania has been self-sufficient in bread. Medical aid and education are free, there are no taxes, and there is full employment. True, at some enterprises 20 people work where 10 could cope. There is a shortage of materials, raw materials, modern machinery, and equipment. There is stagnation in the economic structure, which suffers considerably from red tape and the pursuit of performance in terms of figures. This goes so far as plans for the production of bootlaces and lentils being sent down from the center. However, recently such a view of the economy has increasingly become the target of criticism in the local press. The criticism of shortcomings does no harm to anything or anyone, Albanian leader Ramiz Alia let slip. [video shows aerial shots of factories, many operating machine tools; plaque, written in Ryssian and Chinese, for machine tools from PRC shown]

The country's climate is favorable and makes it possible to grow subtropical crops and develop mountain cattle raising, but things are still far from abundant in supply. Many products are not on sale at all, and people are registered at shops on the basis of their place of residence. Each family, regardless of its size, is entitled to 1 kg of meat and 500 grams of sheep's milk cheese per week, and 200 grams of coffee beans per month. Bread, sugar, and milk are freely available. There are many fruits and vegetables which, like all other products, are sold only in shops. Private trading at markets is forbidden. True, the black market is very active, since locally-produced manufactured goods, domestic appliances, and clothes are not to many people's liking.

For more than a quarter of a century, the stereotype according to which the Stalinist administrative-command model in the economy was the only correct path became firmly established in Albania, but the results of Albania's well-trod path could not have been been so very unexpected. Where is the way out? One of the main ones here remains the principle of relying on one's own resources. According to the Constitution adopted in 1976, it is forbidden for Albania to receive foreign economic aid or accept foreign credit. Enhancing the welfare of the people is the highest goal of the party, says the title of a recent article by Gjyzari, chairman of the State Planning Commission.

Albanians are a fairly politicized people. They like reading newspapers and discussing the latest news. There is more and more of it with each day, particularly in the sphere of foreign policy. It is customary for some reason or other to consider Albania a closed country, but it now maintains relations with more than 100 countries and is organizing international cooperation particularly actively with the countries of the Balkan peninsula. This can be explaned easily. In order to boost the economy, and with it the people's standard of living, it is necessary to come out of this isolation and draw back the curtain that has for many years concealed Albania from the world and the world from Albania. The news of the week is the announcement of the forthcoming meeting in Paris between Albanian Foreign Minister Reiz Malile and his French counterpart, Roland Dumas. The times are changing.

However, the Albanian minister somehow said that it was not they, but others who were changing. It seems to me that these words reflect exactly the present situation in relations between Albania and the USSR. We are changing. Many of our principles and directives that once led to a break in relations with Albania have been changed. We are ready for dialogue, but in Albania the stereotypes of the 1960's continue to be in vogue. We are talked and written about as socialist imperialists and revisionists, and they prophesy our inevitable return to capitalism. In a word, they lash out for no reason at our restructuring. On the back page of the party newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT, one can read about the fact that in the Soviet Union 636 enemy elements repressed during the time of Stalin have been rehabilitated. One small fact: Among the hundreds of thousands of telegrams of condolences sent to us from other countries in connection with the Armenian tragedy, there was not a single one from Albania, although this country knows what it is like to have an earthquake. Evidently all the words uttered by Albanian leader Ramiz Alia 2 years ago remain. Neither now nor in the future will Albania maintain relations, exchanges, or cooperation in whatever form with the USSR. [passage omitted]

[Shishlin] The Soviet Union now maintains quite good relations with virtually all European countries, and our dialogue with the Europeans is developing, but Albania is an exception. Thirty years, or about that long ago relations were broken off. The course of the 20th party congress announced by Khrushchev proved to be unacceptable for the Albanian leaders of that time, but one must honestly admit that Khrushchev himself made tactless outbursts with regard to Albania. But it is not sensible to moralize now about whether Albania is good or bad, whether the regime in this country is good or bad, or whether Albania's domestic or foreign policies are good or bad. Indeed, no one is entitled to lay claim to the role of missionary in the present-day world, but it is very difficult indeed to agree with the Albanian leader that the ice age in USSR-Albanian relations will continue forever. I think that changes will come. The fact that these changes may not come soon is another matter. At

any rate, the Soviet Union is holding the door open for the complete normalization of relations with Albania, and much here will depend on the Albanian stance.

West Europe

Shevardnadze To Visit FRG in Mid-April

LD2503113889 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze is to visit Bonn in the middle of next month to prepare President Mikhail Gorbachev's trip to West Germany in June. No exact date for Shevardnadze's visit has yet been set. West German sources said the Soviet foreign minister will meet his Bonn counterpart Hans-Dietrich Genscher to discuss the accords to be signed during President Gorbachev's visit. The accords cover investment security, sea and inland navigation, and a railway-ferry link across the Baltic Sea between the two countries. East-West and arms control issues are also to be discussed by Foreign Ministers Shevardnadze and Genscher, according to these sources. President Gorbachev is to pay his first official visit to West Germany on 12 June, which will last till 15 June.

Body of Soviet Diplomat Found in Seine River

AU2403181089 Paris AFP in English 1804 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Paris, March 24 (AFP)—The body of Boris Livkovskiy, a 52-year-old engineer and member of the Soviet trade mission here since September 1987, has been pulled out of the Seine River, police sources said Friday, adding that he appeared to have committed suicide.

The body was fished out of the water in Bezons, near Paris, on Wednesday and has been undergoing an autopsy, the sources said.

Mr. Livkovskiy disappeared on March 1, and his car was found on the western outskirts of Paris two days later.

French Foreign Minister in Moscow for Exhibit

LD2803111189 Moscow TASS in English 1045 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas arrived in Moscow on Tuesday to attend the opening of the exhibition of the 20th Century Art in France.

Organised by the Georges-Pompidou Centre National d'Art et de Culture (the Georges-Pompidou National Centre of Culture and Art) and the French Arts Association, it is held in the Soviet Union to mark the 200th anniversary of the great French Revolution.

French Defense Minister To Visit USSR

PM2703155989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Official Visit"]

[Text] Under an accord that has been reached, French Defense Minister J.P. Chevenement will pay an official visit to the Soviet Union in early April at the invitation of Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister.

Interviewed on Visit, Ties

PM2803085989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with French Defense Minister Jean-Pierre Chevenement by correspondent Yu. Kovalenko in Paris: "Guided by the Spirit of Openness and Dialogue"; date of interview not given]

[Text] Paris—[Kovalenko] A French defense minister is paying an official visit to the Soviet Union after a long break. What are you bringing with you to our country? What do you expect of the coming talks?

[Chevenement] It is indeed 10 years since a French defense minister came to the Soviet Union. But I personally have had the honor of visiting your country on two occasions—in 1982 and 1985—as minister of research and technology and then as minister of national education.

I am setting out for Moscow guided by the spirit of openness and dialogue. I will attempt above all to gain a better understanding of what is going on in your country, in particular in the military sphere. M.S. Gorbachev has announced a radical realignment of Soviet military strategy and has pointed out that it will have a "defensive character" in the future and proceed on the principle of "reasonable sufficiency." Moreover, the USSR has announced a reduction in its military budget and a reduction in arms production. These initiatives are positive and cannot leave France's defense minister cold: I would like to discuss these matters with Soviet leaders, understand the changes they have announced, and try to assess how these statements will be implemented.

I am also traveling to Moscow to explain France's doctrine and policy in the security sphere. The principles of defensive sufficiency, the basis of our defense policy, which is exclusively geared to preserving peace and ensuring stability in Europe and throughout the world, have been the center of our concept of independent deterrent forces for almost 30 years. I reckon that open and fruitful contacts between France and the Soviet Union may develop on these matters.

[Kovalenko] By and large what is your opinion of Franco-Soviet relations?

[Chevenement] They inspire hope. USSR-French relations have always been special by virtue of age-old historical circumstances. In the late seventies they came under the influence of the unfavorable international climate. However, after the CPSU Central Committee general secretary embarked on the implementation of the new policy, I think that all the requisite conditions were created for establishing relations of trust, enabling us to organize active and diverse cooperation between our two countries.

In accordance with the traditions that I have just mentioned France intends to play an important role here. In the sixties General de Gaulle was able to find a way to establish fruitful dialogue. In the course of their recent visits to the Soviet Union President F. Mitterand and my colleague Foreign Minister Roland Dumas confirmed France's desire to give a new boost to the requisite mutually beneficial dialogue. I am sure that M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Paris this July is also a sign of this new climate.

My trip to the USSR fits into this framework. It marks the renewal of contacts in such an extremely sensitive sphere as defense. I hope that my trip will help draw the peoples of Europe closer together.

[Kovalenko] Soviet students will in the near future take a course at the U.S. West Point Military Academy, and American students will go to Soviet military educational establishments. Are any forms of cooperation between our two armies possible, albeit in the far-distant future?

[Chevenement] The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan enabled Franco-Soviet contacts to be resumed in the military sphere after a long break. **We are thus talking about a new start.** I hope that this will make it possible to organize numerous fruitful exchanges between our countries' armies. However, at present it is too early to envisage any concrete forms of such cooperation: In the course of my trip to the USSR I will be able to examine with the Soviet defense minister the concrete possibilities facing us that will enable us to broaden our mutual familiarization with our armed forces.

[Kovalenko] Paris has mainly initiated the creation of European defense. What is its aim? If the aim, as President F. Mitterand said, is to be NATO's European bridgehead, won't "Eurodefense" be under the control of the United States, which will at any rate keep its commanding position in the North Atlantic alliance?

[Chevenement] Western Europe has been engaged in creating an economic community for more than 30 years now. The final goal is not to dissolve the states united in this community but to create a confederation open to all forms of dialogue with other European countries. France, like its partners, is convinced that European unity cannot be achieved until problems of defense and security are settled on our continent. Naturally, it is a matter of broadening Europeans' opportunities to guarantee their own security themselves and be a fully integral part of the multipolar world of the 21st century, which we can already sense is on its way. Building a base of security in Western Europe will be a factor for stability on our continent, helping create conditions for balanced dialogue with the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe; it would be a pledge of stable peace for all Europe, allowing us to finally overcome the division inherited from World War II.

[Kovalenko] How does France intend to promote the success of the Vienna talks on conventional arms reductions?

[Chevenement] France has taken a very active part in preparing the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe. It was France that submitted the initiative to hold the conference on disarmament in Europe within the framework of the CSCE process; France and its partners put forward the proposal in June 1986 in Halifax to hold new talks on conventional arms in Europe. Since then it has constantly done everything to ensure that the Vienna talks were held on a clearly formulated basis —between sovereign states rather than between military blocs—and to ensure that they were closely linked with the broader processes of improving political and humanitarian relations in Europe, as is the CSCE.

The states participating in the talks on conventional arms in Europe can rely on France's involvement being as constructive as it was before. Moreover President F. Mitterand ranked the successful implementation of these talks as first among the priority tasks in France's foreign policy.

[Kovalenko] The Soviet Union is unilaterally reducing its armed forces by 500,000 men, cutting its military budget, and by and large switching from an offensive to a defensive doctrine. But all these steps have provoked a contradictory reaction in the West: Some people have welcomed them, while others have claimed that the Soviets still have more weapons and that they are only eliminating outmoded hardware and so on. What is your opinion of the Soviet initiatives? How do people in France plan to resolve the problem of converting the military industry, or don't you have that problem?

[Chevenement] France welcomed M.S. Gorbachev's decision to unilaterally reduce the Soviet Armed Forces, regarding it as a positive step of military significance that should bring us nearer to military equilibrium in Europe. It still remains to examine in detail which arms will be eliminated, how the reductions will be implemented, how the remaining armed forces will be reorganized in order to give them a defensive character, and what is to supplement the steps that have been taken. I welcome the Soviet statement that this process will be able to be observed in the localities; this should enable us to make a comprehensive assessment of the military significance

of this action. We have no reason to doubt M.S. Gorbachev's positive intentions. On the contrary we welcome them. We are even more delighted that these intentions are being implemented, as is shown by the example of Afghanistan. That is why my reaction to the Soviet initiatives is positive. I hope that new steps will follow at the negotiating table in Vienna and that the USSR will agree to go the rest of the way separating us from attaining stable equilibrium in conventional armed forces in Europe at the lowest level of arms. I am talking about achieving the aim outlined by M.S. Gorbachev himself of imparting a defensive character to military doctrine on both sides.

As for reductions in the Soviet Union's military budget and arms production, it is a issue of positive measures, whose significance we will be better able to evaluate after we are aware of the full data on the military budget—which the Soviet Union has promised to publish—and the figures for arms production in your country.

France's defense industry proceeds on the desire to ensure our independence. At the same time it is obvious that some diversification of its military industry for civilian purposes is desirable: Incidentally, this is one of the key avenues in the plan for our military enterprises' strategic development, a plan that is now under discussion with their collectives.

[Kovalenko] The results of the U.S. secretary of state's recent visit to NATO countries illustrate that the West does not have a united viewpoint on the question of modernizing nuclear forces. Last year F. Mitterand advocated postponing this modernization for 2-3 years. What is France's position today?

[Chevenement] Your question concerns the modernization of NATO's short-range nuclear arms, which is at present the subject of discussion within the integrated military organization. France is not taking a direct part in these discussions since it is not a member of the NATO military organization but also because it bases its own defense on deterrence rather than on the "flexible response" concept. Nevertheless it has advised its partners not to delay their decision but to comprehensively analyze matters in order to ascertain all the political and strategic aspects of this decision with regard to both NATO as a whole and also each of its states on whose territory the arms to be replaced are sited. The president of the republic stated the following 28 February 1989: "My position is simple: If the Soviet Union modernizes this type of arms, there is no reason for the West not to modernize them. I am striving for equilibrium and there is no reason not to promote the attainment of equilibrium in this sphere."

[Kovalenko] NATO is preparing its global concept of security and disarmament, which will be examined in Brussels at a small session of its council. How will France contribute to this concept?

[Chevenement] France is taking an active part in elaborating this global concept. Our approach to this problem is well known: Disarmament should be designed to establish equilibrium at a lower level of arms. The results of this process should strengthen the security of each of the relevant sides at every stage. From our viewpoint disarmament and efforts in the defense sphere are two mutually complementary aspects of one and the same policy in the security sphere that should aim to strengthen stability and peace. For this the disarmament process should proceed on the basis of true priorities: The lack of equilibrium in conventional armed forces in Europe is the main reason for the instability; this situation must be changed. We also attach very great significance to the conclusion of a global verifiable agreement on the banning of chemical weapons and a 50 percent reduction in the U.S. and USSR excessive nuclear strategic arsenals.

An atmosphere of trust must be created in Europe in order to ensure that contacts can develop between the two sides. Equilibrium based on security, which we must attain, should enable us to simultaneously prevent and contain any aggression. Our continent has suffered very greatly in the course of two world wars. It needs a stable peace that would allow it to once again acquire through dialogue unity rooted in common history and culture.

Gorbachev To Stop in Ireland on 2 Apr

To Meet Irish Prime Minister

LD2403172689 Moscow TASS in English 1719 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, made the following announcement in an interview with a TASS diplomatic correspondent today:

On his way to Cuba Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev will make a brief stop-over at the Irish Shannon Airport on April 2, where he will be met by Prime Minister Charles Haughey of Ireland.

This will be the first, albeit only brief, Soviet-Irish summit during which the two leaders are expected to deal with international and bilateral relations.

The forthcoming meeting will undoubtedly serve the cause of developing Soviet-Irish relations, improving mutual understanding and strengthening trust between the two nations.

Irish Government Welcomes Visit

LD2603130189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1220 GMT 26 Mar 89

[Text] Dublin, 26 Mar (TASS)—"Prime Minister Charles Haughey welcomes the opportunity to meet with Mikhail Gorbachev," stated an official spokesman for the Irish Government. "The talks," he noted, "will touch

on a number of international problems and will afford an opportunity for the further development of excellent relations, including broadening the economic cooperation between Ireland and the Soviet Union."

The newspaper IRISH PRESS stresses in an editorial commentary that "Gorbachev will be received with particular warmth in Ireland, because its people value him as an eminent political leader who is doing everything possible to improve the lives of Soviet people and to care for the security of all the inhabitants of the earth."

British Public Welcomes Gorbachev Visit

LD2303153889 Moscow TASS in English 1409 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] London March 23 TASS—By TASS correspondents Andrey Biryukov and Vladimir Voronkov: Come rain or shine, imperturbable policemen with sphynxlike faces gaze apathetically at groups of people crowded at the entrance to Downing Street, the official residence of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

The prime minister is now preparing for a very important guest. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev will pay an official visit to Britain early in April. What do British people, the majority of whom named the Soviet leader as one of their favourite politicians last year, think about relations between our countries and prospects for their development? TASS put this question to ordinary British people along Whitehall, in central London, the hub of British Government.

"British people welcome the Soviet Union's aspiration for peace and greater cooperation with other countries, specifically with Great Britain", said Richard White, a London publisher. "All of us know what is war and what is peace. Therefore, there should be no place for confrontation". A gray-haired elderly gentleman wearing the architypal black bowler hat, beige raincoat and holding a traditional long black umbrella smiled broadly when learning about our request. "I am very glad that the Soviet leader will soon pay a visit to London", said Adolf A. Wallford, a 77-year-old cheerful former lawyer. "I hope that this important event will help foster closer links between our countries and demonstrate how the existing problems can be solved at the negotiating table".

Salesman William Pain hid himself from the chill March winds behind a small newspaper stand on the corner of Whitehall and Parliament Square near the building of Britain's supreme legislative authority and the famous Westminster Abbey. "Quite a few leaders of foreign states arrive here, but it is wonderful that this time our guest will be Gorbachev and I hail this".

Oliver Forder, assistant director of the British and Commonwealth Merchant Bank, readily responded to our questions. "I believe that the British-Soviet summit meeting will open new opportunities for cooperation between our countries in the business sphere. British companies show interest in markets in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, although they suffer from a lack of information about it".

D. Screech, an employee of one of numerous London advertising agencies, stopped for a minute although he was in great hurry: "The two countries are drawing closer at long last. This is good, since pressing issues should be handled jointly. It would be fine if such contacts continue".

London taxi-driver Brian Wheat went round-eyed when he learnt that TASS wanted to speak to him. "What do I think about the visit? It is very good that Gorbachev is going to visit us. How many bitter and hard years there had been in our relationships. And now the two leaders meet and talk about problems. Let them at long last do something with these nuclear bombs and all kinds of other military things. We only stand to gain from all this.

In the opinion of Simon Barclay, doctor of medicine, close interaction now plays an increasing role in Soviet-British relations. "I am delighted with the Soviet leader's activity on the international scene and wholeheartedly wish him further success", he stressed.

"I am very glad that Mr Gorbachev will soon arrive here", Ann Williams, a former nurse and now a pensioner from the town with the jawbreaking name, Aberystwyth, in Wales, said frankly.

All the British people that we spoke to in central London in the runup to the Soviet leader's visit to Britain held the same view.

Shevardnadze, Finnish Counterpart Begin Talks

LD2803082789 Moscow TASS in English 0653 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—Talks started here on Tuesday between Soviet Foreign Minister and Politburo member Eduard Shevardnadze and Finnish Foreign Minister Pertti Paasio.

The Finnish foreign minister arrived in the Soviet Union on Monday night for a short working visit.

Gorbachev Congratulates Italian Communist Chief

PM2703110789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[Message from M. Gorbachev "To Comrade Achille Occhetto, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Dear Comrade Occhetto!

I cordially congratulate you on your re-election as general secretary of the Italian Communist Party.

I wish you and all Italian Communists great successes in the struggle for the fundamental interests of all Italian working people and for the triumph of the ideas of peace, democracy, and social progress.

With communist greetings,

M. Gorbachev.

Latin America & Caribbean

Commentary on U.S. Contra Aid Allocation

PA2603013489 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 2330 GMT 25 Mar 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The U.S. Administration and Congress have agreed to allocate $45 million in humanitarian aid for the Nicaraguan contras. The Nicaraguan Government has described this decision as a violation of the accords reached during the Central American presidents' summit in San Salvador.

The Salvadoran agreement stipulates drafting a plan within 3 months to demobilize the anti-Sandinist armed forces. This plan is scheduled to be implemented on 14 May, at the latest. Nonetheless, giving aid to the contras could countermand this effort. Washington continues to regard the Nicaraguan armed opposition as a force that can be used effectively against Nicaragua. This is why the U.S. Government has pressured the Honduran president into letting the contras stay in Honduran territory until the Nicaraguan elections are held on 25 February 1990. White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater has officially confirmed Washington's intentions.

The U.S. Administration has attempted to justify its support for the contras in two ways. First, the U.S. Government says that it has moral obligations to the Nicaraguan armed opposition. Second, the U.S. Government says that it mistrusts the Nicaraguan Government and thinks the latter will not fully comply with the area presidents' agreement, particularly regarding Nicaragua's democratization. Regarding moral obligations, full light has been shed on this matter for a long time now. During the Reagan administration, the United States created, outfitted, and armed the enemies of the Sandinist revolution with the sole purpose of crushing the Sandinist revolution. The argument based on an alleged mistrust does not withstand close scrutiny because it is precisely the Nicaraguan Government that strictly obeys the letter and the spirit of the regional peace agreements.

The Sandinists have said that they will accept the results of the forthcoming elections, no matter what they are. It is obvious that the process leading toward a political solution in Central America has not yet been fully consolidated. We have to support that process at all costs. This is why all members of the international community—including the United States—should strive to create favorable conditions to enable the Central American people to resolve their conflicts themselves. This requires moderation and a constructive approach by governments outside the region but which somehow find themselves involved in regional conflicts.

As for the Soviet Union's position, it was presented by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze yesterday during a meeting with Nicaraguan Minister of Foreign Cooperation Henry Ruiz. Shevardnadze said that the Soviet Union will continue to actively contribute to finding solutions to Central American problems.

Ortega Denounces Plan

LD2803084389 Moscow TASS in English 0708 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Managua March 28 TASS—President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua has strongly denounced the agreement between the U.S. Administration and leaders of U.S. Congress reached on March 24 on further "humanitarian aid" to the Contras amounting to 45 million dollars.

Speaking here on Monday at a meeting with representatives of Harvard University, he pointed out that the decision to allocate resources for maintaining the fighting capacity of the Contras was evidence of the U.S. desire to continue its policy of blackmail and threats with regard to Nicaragua.

According to Ortega, the U.S. uses as a pretext the alleged need to protect its national security whenever Nicaragua is mentioned. The agreement between the administration and Congress runs counter to the efforts exerted by Latin American countries for establishing peace in the region and to the understanding reached by presidents of Central American countries on demobilisation of the Contras.

Honduras President Comments

LD2703071289 Moscow TASS in English 0651 GMT 27 Mar 89

[Text] Mexico City March 27 TASS—The foreign ministers of five Central American states start a two day meeting in San Jose, Costa Rica, on Monday to discuss issues connected with disbanding the armed units of Nicaraguan Contras on the territory of Honduras, according to Honduran President Jose Azcona Hoyo. He was speaking at a news conference in the resort city of Tula, 260 km north of Tegucigalpa, the capital of Honduras.

Replying to journalists' questions, the president denied that the United States had allegedly asked him to permit the Contras to stay on Honduran territory till February 1990.

Asked about American aid to Contras, Azcona replied that it should be only humanitarian. He recalled that Central American presidents demanded at their latest meeting in Salvador an end to any aid to the Contras, except for finanial resources intended especially for humanitarian goals.

PRAVDA Examines Central America Prospects

PM2803075789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[Vitaliy Korionov "Viewpoint": "Putting an End to the Situation Rather Than Heating It Up"]

[Text] Recent qualitative changes in the international situation have created a real chance of dispersing the gunsmoke in those areas where bloody battles have raged for many years. Such as, for instance, the situation in the Central American region.

Two opposite courses have been in perceptible evidence in this crisis: The determination on the part of the Latin American peoples to win the right to independently choose their historical destiny and the desire of U.S. imperialist circles not to give the Latin Americans the chance to assert this right. The crisis is focused on freedom-loving Nicaragua. The previous Washington administration aimed to remove the "Sandinist cancer" even if "surgical intervention" was necessary for this. This policy has caused the Nicaraguans countless misfortunes. But the people of Sandino's country have stood their ground and inflicted military and political defeat on the Contra mercenaries' units. The remains of these units are now licking their wounds in Honduras, where they have now become—as politicians and press organs point out—a "general headache."

Latin American countries have actively set about securing a peace settlement in the region. The countries of the Contadora Group and the Support Group are continuing their efforts. The fourth meeting of the presidents of Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras, which gave a new boost to the negotiating process, was held in mid-February in El Salvador. The meeting's participants expressed the firm conviction that a military solution of the conflict is hopeless and that a settlement is only possible by peaceful means on the basis of mutual consideration of all the sides' interests. They decided to elaborate a plan for the withdrawal of Contra units from Honduran territory and the elimination of their bases over 90 days.

Nicaragua's Sandinist leadership, which has submitted a number of far-reaching constructive initiatives, played an important role in achieving this solution. On a previously announced date it released from jail almost 1,900 Somocistas who had been convicted of crimes during the dictatorship. A number of steps aimed at further democratizing and stabilizing the country's internal political situation are also being implemented. The numerical strength of the Sandinist People's Army and the security police have been reduced by 10,000 and 6,000 men respectively, and the security budget has been cut. The government has resumed national dialogue with opposition political parties, which the opposition broke off last April. Washington has tried to attribute to Managua the intention of delaying general elections, but the Sandinistas have already scheduled early elections for 25 February 1990. Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega has stated his readiness "to give power to the party that wins the coming election."

The change of Washington administration has given the United States a chance to discard the burden of past mistakes and misconceptions. As is well known, the question of U.S. support and finance for the Contras set the Congress alight throughout R. Reagan's term in the White House. Expectations have arisen in the Congress and the country that the Bush administration will take advantage of this opportunity to proclaim a new policy on this question.

However, at present such expectations are not being realized. Some Washington politicians, who are incapable of learning from life, continue to affirm that the United States has only "two levers for applying pressure on Managua: the 82d Airborne Division and the Contras." The press reports that the State Department is attempting to force through a plan to keep armed Contra groupings numbering 11,000 men (according to other data 13,000) in camps on Honduran territory for at least another year. At the same time there are reports that the new administration intends to ask the Congress to approve appropriations of more than $40 million in "humanitarian aid" to the Contras.

There are now have favorable preconditions for ensuring an irreversible advance toward the elimination of the seat of tension in Central America. To take advantage of these preconditions would be in line with the interests of peace and all countries, including the United States.

Gorbachev's Upcoming Visit to Cuba Viewed

Evidence of Friendship

LD2603084389 Moscow TASS in English 0739 GMT 26 Mar 89

[Text] Havana March 26 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kanishchev:

The upcoming visit of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to Cuba on April 2-5 is of great importance for Cubans who regard it as evidence of the inviolable friendship between the world's first state of workers and peasants and the first socialist country in the Western hemisphere, said Soylo Marinello, chairman of the Association of Cuba-Soviet Friendship.

In an interview with the TASS correspondent, he said he believed it to be a visit of historic importance, first of all, because the Soviet leader would have a chance of getting

acquainted with Cuba and seeing that its people, carried away by socialist ideas, are working energetically and enthusiastically towards a clear-cut goal of building socialism in Cuba and establishing a lasting peace on earth.

Marinello said that Gorbachev's visit would not only be a long-awaited event for the Cubans, but also an insistent requirement, for the Soviet leader's personality produces a great impression around the world.

"We are having special feelings towards the homeland of leader of world proletariat Vladimir Lenin. They are the feelings of genuine friendship and gratitude for the unconditional support which has been given by the Soviet Union to Cuba since the first days of the Cuban revolution," Marinello said in conclusion.

Visit Will Strengthen Friendship

PA2503051089 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Spanish 0100 GMT 25 Mar 89

[Commentary by Valentin Mashkin]

[Text] As reported, Mikhail Gorbachev will visit Cuba from 2-5 April. How does the Soviet public view this? I talked about this visit with people of various ages and professions. Summarizing what they told me, they regard this visit as [words indistinct] to socialism, thanks in particular to his determined foreign policy. This is why the good relations between our two countries are significant.

There has been speculation in the West regarding a certain alleged disagreement between Cuba and the Soviet Union because of the perestroyka currently under way in the Soviet Union. However, such disagreements do not exist.

There are disagreements, however, on how domestic problems should be solved. In the Soviet Union, restructuring is in progress. Cubans speak of a rectification. Each Socialist country lives life in its own way, without criticizing its companions for being different. This is one of the features of the new political thinking that the Soviet Union supports and that is making inroads throughout the world. We think Gorbachev and Fidel Castro will discuss their own countries' domestic problems. They will surely discuss [words indistinct] as well, which causes so much unrest these days.

Gorbachev will at last meet with Cuban workers. We have no doubt that Gorbachev's visit to Cuba will strengthen friendship between the Soviet and Cuban peoples even further. This is very good.

Chilean 'United Left' Leader Visits Moscow

PM2803103589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Visitor from Chile"]

[Text] Clodomiro Almeyda, secretary general of the Socialist Party of Chile and president of the "United Left" Bloc, was on a working visit to the Soviet Union 20-23 March.

C. Almeyda was received by V.M. Falin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department. There were meetings and conversations in the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Latin American People and the USSR Academy of Sciences World Economics and International Relations Institute, Economics Institute, and State and Law Institute.

On behalf of Chile's left-wing forces, C. Almeyda expressed gratitude to the CPSU and all Soviet people for their invariable solidarity with the Chilean people's struggle for the restoration of democracy and freedom. C. Almeyda wished successful implementation of revolutionary restructuring in the USSR.

Holds News Conference in Moscow

PY2203230689 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2100 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Expressing optimism about the progress of the struggle for democracy in Chile, Socialist Party Secretary General Clodomiro Almeyda has come out in favor of a single opposition candidate for the presidential elections in December of this year, of an agreement on the candidates for Congress, and of a program of government involving a united opposition. Speaking at a news conference in Moscow yesterday, Clodomiro Almeyda, who is also president of the United Left, stressed the active role of the left in current political developments and the central role of social mobilization in the struggle for democracy. That struggle will not end, he added, with the electoral process and the victory of the opposition; it will continue.

In "Escucha Chile" today, we will air some of Almeyda's most salient statements from yesterday's Moscow news conference.

[Begin Almeyda recording] I must tell you that I am optimistic about developments in Chile. I believe that maintaining the unity of all the democratic forces is of paramount importance. These forces demonstrated how much they can accomplish together, when last year they defeated Pinochet at the plebiscite. I believe that if we maintain that unity, we will also defeat the military regime in the elections scheduled for the end of this year. Despite the inequitable conditions under which the opposition and the government are struggling, the military regime can still be defeated. The same inequitable

conditions prevailed before the plebiscite, and yet we won. If the opposition remains united, we will also win in this year's elections, despite all the difficulties.

To maintain that unity is not easy, because the spectrum of oppositin forces is quite broad. It extends from the right, through the center-right and liberal sectors, to the Marxist-oriented left. It is not easy to reach a consensus of all those forces. Nevertheless, I believe that we will be able to reach that consensus, thanks to the will to remain united. We expect to run a single presidential candidate, at least in the first round. Since in Chile we may have runoff elections, as in France, the leftist forces do not want to compete individually in the first round; they want to go into it as part of a united opposition front, although I believe this is not a guarantee of victory. [end recording]

Then Almeyda noted: [Begin Almeyda recording] The plebiscite brought about an obvious change in the frame of mind of the Chilean people. Their morale was greatly enhanced; their hopes were awakened; their optimism was raised. The people have used the expanded freedom they gained after the plebiscite to express this new frame of mind. The political year in Chile began with a huge women's demonstration on 8 March, International Woman's Day. Such a demonstration had not be seen in a long time, and it is a good indication of the combative and united spirit of the Chilean people. This spirit will have to be expressed throughout this year, because the electoral campaign calls for a mass struggle to regain democracy. Democracy cannot be gained through votes alone; popular mobilization is also fundamental. The votes must reflect the level of popular unity and mobilization, which we have to promote throughout this year. To this task I will devote myself as soon as I return to my country in a few more days. [end recording]

Clodomiro Almeyda expressed his optimism, but he also sounded a warning about the obvious difficulties of the Chilean political process.

[Begin Almeyda recording] With the elections we will take an important step toward democracy. I want to make something clear, however. Once the elections are held, we will not immediately have democracy. We will first need to dismantle the entire institutional apparatus, entire Constitution, and all the laws that hobble the Chilean people. Just by winning the elections, we will not undo all this. We will find strong resistance from conservative and reactionary sectors and their military allies. We will still have important obstacles to hurdle before we can fully restore in Chile a democracy without internal or external tutelage. We have made very decisive steps forward, and with unity and struggle, as we socialist say, we will take the final steps to achieve our objective. Meanwhile, we will continue to need international support and solidarity. We must above all keep in mind that we are still struggling for democracy and that we have not yet attained our objective. To attain it, we will still need the support of all the progressive forces of world. [end recording]

In the entire political process that is unfolding in Chile, the presence and activism of the left are decisive, Clodomiro Almeyda stressed in his statements to the press in Moscow.

[Begin Almeyda recording] The leftist forces of Chile are a decisive factor. A political democratic alliance cannot be conceived of in Chile without the participatin of the left in the vanguard. I believe that in recent years the left has not been at its best; there have been problems among the leftist parties. These problems have in some degree hindered the role the leftist forces may have played. I am sure, however, that in the near future, in the next 1 or 2 years, based on the unity of leftist forces, which I deem necessary, and on a process of maturation and renewal, the left will regain its hegemonic role in Chilean society. Then our country should be able to advance toward socialism through democracy. [end recording]

This has been a summary of the news conference held yesterday at the headquarters of the Soviet Committee of Solidarity with Latin American Peoples by the president of the United Left, former foreign minister, and former Chilean vice president, Clodomiro Almeyda.

Shevardnadze Receives Brazilian Ambassador

LD2203161789 Moscow TASS in English 1600 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze received on Wednesday Ronaldo Sardenberg, Brazilian ambassador to the USSR, at his request.

The ambassador handed over a message by Brazilian President Jose Sarney to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

During the meeting the sides pointed with satisfaction to the importance of the present constructive dialogue between the Soviet and Brazilian leaders, aimed at improving the international climate, consolidating positive change in the world and improving mutual understanding and confidence between nations. They confirmed their mutual desire to develop actively the potential of Soviet-Brazilian relations, ensuring gradual expansion of bilateral cooperation in various spheres.

Political & Social

Continued Coverage of Territorial Elections Results

Shcherbitskiy, Others Elected

LD2803151189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1419 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 28 Mar (TASS)—TASS correspondent report: The lists of USSR people's deputies are growing, as preliminary data arrive from the constituency electoral commissions on the results of the 26 March elections in territorial and national-territorial constituencies.

According to preliminary data, Vladimir Shcherbitskiy, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party, who ran in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, has been elected USSR people's deputy. Valentina Shevchenko, chairwoman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium; and Vitaliy Masol, chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers; also received their mandates as deputies.

As a result of the voting in the Prikaspiyskiy territorial constituency, Gennadiy Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, has also been elected USSR people's deputy. Ninety-seven percent of voters voted for him. Nursultan Nazarbayev, chairman of the Kazakhstan Council of Ministers, will also receive a mandate to the highest body of state power. Reruns will be held in five Kazakhstan constituencies.

According to Nellya Kiriyak, secretary of the Moldavian Supreme Soviet Presidium, 90.5 percent of the electorate took part in the voting in this south-western republic of the country, according to preliminary data. Semen Grossu and Vyacheslav Pshenichnikov, the first and second secretaries of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, gained the number of votes needed for election, as did Aleksandr Mokanu, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium; Ivan Kalin, chairman of the Republic's Council of Ministers; Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev; and writer Ion Drutse. The election results show that repeat elections will have to be held in six Moldavian constituencies. In five constituencies where two candidates had been registered, neither of them gained the necessary number of votes (including Nikolay Tsyu, First Secretary of the Kishenev gorkom [city party committee]).

In Maritime Kray, according to preliminary data reported by Valentina Bondarenko, secretary of the constituency electoral commission; Viktor Shekhovstov, a lawyer and teacher at the Far Eastern State University; Stanislav Zhatornyy, deputy chief engineer at the "Askold" machine-building works in the town of Arsenyev; and Hero of the Soviet Union Ruslan Aushev, an officer who served in the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, have been elected as deputies. Aleksey Volyntsev, first secretary of the Maritime kray-kom; Admiral Gennadiy Khvatov, commander of the Pacific Ocean Fleet; and Viktor Miskov, head of the Far Eastern marine shipping line, didn't win the necessary number of votes. In two Maritime kray constituencies no deputy was elected. In one of them four candidates were taking part and in the other there were three. A rerun will take place there: The two candidates who won the greatest number of votes in the first round will stand in each constituency.

Solovyev, Leningrad Leadership Defeated

AU2803083889 Paris AFP in English 0818 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Excerpt] Moscow, March 27 (AFP)—Virtually the entire leadership of the Soviet Union's second city Leningrad was defeated in Sunday's elections to a revamped parliament, including a member of the ruling Politburo, Leningrad regional leader Yuriy Solovyev, a city election official said Tuesday.

Mr. Solovyev is an alternate, or non-voting, Politburo member.

An election commission official in Leningrad told AFP that Mr. Solovyev had failed to be elected, along with Leningrad Mayor Vladimir Khodyrev and one of his deputies, Alexey Bolshakov. [passage omitted]

Preliminary Republics Results

LD2703193489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1859 GMT 27 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 27 Mar (TASS)—TASS correspondents report:

According to preliminary results of the election of USSR people's deputies in Kiev, capital of the Ukraine, Nikolay Amosov, surgeon at the Institute of Cardiovascular Surgery, gained the necessary majority of votes among six candidates in the Leninskiy constituency, and Yuriy Shcherbak, secretary of the board of the Ukrainian Union of Writers, a nonparty member well-known for his publications on the problems of Chernobyl, attained a majority in Shevchenkovskiy constituency among five candidates.

In Krasnodon, in Voroshilovgrad Oblast, Viktor Sinelnikov, a machine operator from the Novoannovskiy state farm, came out the winner in a contest with Anatoliy Kasyanov, first secretary of the local town party committee.

According to available results, the following first secretaries of CPSU oblast party committees [obkoms] did not gather the necessary number of votes: Konstantin Masik, Kiev Obkom; Ivan Lyakhov, Voroshilovgrad Obkom; Genrikh Bandrovskiy, Zakarpaty Obkom; Yakov Pogrebnyak, Lvov Obkom; and Leonid Palazhchenko, Chernigov Obkom.

USSR people's deputies have been elected in 71 of Georgia's 75 constituencies. Among those who received a large majority are Dzhumber Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee; Guram Metonidze, worker of the "Elektrovozstroitel" Tbilisi Production Association; Albert Tavkhelidze, president of the Georgian Academy of Sciences; and Merab Berdzenishvili, well-known sculptor.

In four constituencies, where two candidates were put to the vote in each, none has received the required number of votes. Repeat elections will be held in those constituencies.

Vayno Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee; Arnold Ryuytel, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium; and Indrek Toome, chairman of the Estonian Council of Ministers, each received over 90 percent of the votes. Edgar Savisaar, one of the leaders of the Estonian Popular Front and deputy director of the "Maynor" control system design bureau, and Vladimir Yarovoy, director of the "Dvigatel" works, who is chairman of the United Council of Estonia's Labor Collectives, have become USSR people's deputies.

In four territorial constituencies and one national territorial constituency in Estonia none of the candidates gained the necessary number of votes. There will be repeat ballots or repeat elections.

Yan Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, won by a small majority in a difficult election campaign. A majority of voters also placed their trust in Anatoliy Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Vitaliy Sobolev, secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee. Vilnis Bresis, chairman of the Republican Council of Ministers, lost. His rival was the popular television journalist Edvin Inkens.

In a number of Latvian constituencies, none of the candidates gained more than 50 percent of the votes necessary for election to deputy.

More on Republics Elections

LD2803124889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1145 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 28 Mar (TASS)—TASS correspondent report:

Preliminary results for the people's deputy elections have been summed up by the country's constituency election commissions. Among those elected for example in the Far East is Yevdokiya Gaer, a research assistant at the Institute of History, Archaelogy, and Ethnography, who beat Lieutenant General Viktor Novozhilov, commander of the troops from the Far Eastern Military District. Yuriy Chichik, a state farm director, beat Viktor Pasternak, first secretary of the Khabarovsk Kraykom, at the elections.

In the Birobidzhan national-territorial constituency, Leonid Shkolnik, head of the press section of the Jewish Autonomous oblast party committee [obkom], has been elected people's deputy, beating construction worker Galina Misharina. Boris Korsunskiy, first secretary of this obkom, lost to Aleksandr Milyutin, chief engineer of a cement works.

In the three constituencies of the Far East where there were two candidates, neither of whom received more than half the votes of the electorate, repeat elections will be held over 2 months.

According to preliminary data from Leningrad, the workers Aleksandr Melnikov and Gennadiy Bykov are among those elected people's deputies of the USSR. Viktor Kabakov, rector of the Leningrad Engineering and Economic Institute, has also been elected deputy. He beat Anatoliy Fateyev, secretary of the Leningrad Obkom.

In the Leningrad city constituency, where City Deputy Mayor Aleksey Bolshakov was running, and in the constituency were Colonel General Viktor Yermakov, troop commander of the Leningrad Military Okrug, was running, there will be a runoff in accordance with the law on elections. Yuriy Solovyev, the head of the Leningrad obkom, did not obtain the necessary number of votes.

Figures have also been received on preliminary election results from Uzbekistan. The overwhelming majority of voters in a constituency of the Fergana valley voted for Rafik Nishanov, first secretary of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee; Mirzoalim Ibragimov, chairman of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet Presidium; and Gayrat Kadyrov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the republic, were also elected USSR people's deputies with large majorities.

The population of the republic did not evaluate equally all the leaders running in the elections. Thus, in Andizhan Oblast, Uzbekistan, the electors expressed their lack of confidence in Makhmud Aripzhanov, first secretary of the obkom, and in a number of other oblasts the leaders of city party committees and local bodies of power did not receive support.

In the Tashkent national territorial constituency, where there were five candidates, none of whom gained a majority of votes, there will be a runoff. Among the candidates for a deputy's seat in this constituency is Marat Zakhidov, a teacher at the Tashkent University.

His name became famous in the republic after he had spoken in public unmasking the former president of Uzbekistan, Pulat Khabibullayev, which led to his resignation.

In Soviet Kirghizia, 37 of 74 candidates for 41 seats have been elected. In four constituencies, including in the capital, the Frunze territorial, there will be repeat elections. The average age of the deputies elected is 40. The youngest is 25 year-old history teacher Oleg Igumnov.

Reports on Territorial Campaigns, Elections Process

Republic Polling Station Activity

PM2803082389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1, 2

[Unnamed PRAVDA correspondents election day roundup: "In Favor of Restructuring, in Favor of Democracy"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Only a day or two ago the election campaign, and the passions which it evoked, were seething throughout Estonia. The emotions boiled over and crystallized in the firm and unequivocal decision on who to vote for.

At the polling station of the No 60/8 electoral okrug, located in the building of the "Estrybprom" association, A. Terlitskiy, chairman of the polling station commission, told us:

"Ours is probably one of the most complex okrugs. The list of candidates for the USSR people's deputy post in the Tallinnskiy-Kalininskiy National-Territorial Electoral Okrug No 450 is unusually long. It comprises G. Aleshin, second secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee; R. Veydemann, chief editor of the journal VIKERKAAR (Rainbow) and member of the People's Front board; V. Ilmoya, physician; Ye. Kogan, 'Estrybprom' association worker and one of the initiators of the creation of the International Movement; Kh. Mayde, director general of the "Estrybprom" association, who has the support of the United Council of Labor Collectives and the Union of Labor Collectives; and S. Serdobintsev, fitter at the plant named for Lauristin. In short, voters will have a great deal to think about in the secret ballot booths."

Another thing that makes the polling station at the "Estrybprom" association unusual is that it has four "subsidiaries" in seas and oceans. The floating polling stations are located on flagships in the fishing grounds where the association's fishermen are at work.

A few days before the elections, leaflets appeared in Yerevan exhorting people not to go to the polling stations, to refrain from voting. How did the voters respond to this sort of agitation? In different ways. Party and labor veterans formed the majority of those who came to the polling stations from early morning onward. In Ordzhonikidzevskiy rayon an old woman brought smiles to the faces of the polling station commission members when she placed a bunch of carnations in front of them....

Many people want to know how the elections are proceeding in the disaster zone. A report from Spitak says that 80 percent of voters had voted by noon, and in 7 of the 30 polling stations voting had been completed.

"People have asked me to convey cordial gratitude to the party and all the people who have given assistance to the Armenian people following the 7 December tragedy," S. Grigoryan, second secretary of the Spitak Armenian Communist Party rayon committee said over the telephone. [passage omitted]

A unique situation prevailed at Riga National-Territorial Okrug No 293 on election day. Eleven candidates were contesting the post of USSR people's deputy. At polling station No 22/22, located at the "VEF" production association Culture and Technology Center, a PRAVDA correspondent asked voters whether they found it easy to choose from such a large number of candidates.

"I work as senior machine operator at the Latvian Shipping Line," G. Mazur said. "On the first ballot paper I voted for Comrade Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party, and on the second ballot paper for pilot and craft commander Zakis. I find their election programs entirely to my satisfaction."

In Lithuania 132 candidates are standing in 42 electoral okrugs. In no okrug is a single candidate contesting the post of deputy and claiming to be representing voters' interests. In some of the okrugs up to seven candidates are standing.

The participation in the election campaign of the Sayudis informal association has added heat to the pre-election struggle. The photograph of one of the candidates—G. Kanovich, member of the Vilnius Sayudis council—was in evidence at virtually every step, even on panels mounted on the roofs of cars which were criss-crossing the city in large numbers. More than 40 candidates, backed by this social organization, were registered in virtually all the republic's electoral okrugs. [passage omitted]

Latvian Voters' Questions Answered

PM2703134389 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 15 Mar 89 p 1

[LATINFORM correspondent R. Ostrovskiy account of answers to election meeting questions by V. Bresis, chairman of the Latvian Council of Ministers: "V. Bresis: 'My Program Is a Restructuring Program'"]

[Excerpts] The schedule of V. Bresis, chairman of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers and candidate USSR people's deputy, included

meetings with six collectives in Tsesisskiy Rayon in the course of 2 days—meetings with workers on the "Amata," "Nitaure," and "Ligatne" state farms, the "Alauksts" and "Ineshi" collective farms [kolkhozes], and the "Avtoremzavod" enterprise. Each of these meetings turned into an intensive dialogue in which various viewpoints clashed and arguments "for" and "against" the candidate were adduced. [passage omitted]

Even after a detailed presentation of the election program, the candidate deputy was subjected to a barrage of dozens upon dozens of questions. We present for your attention those which were raised most frequently by the different audiences.

Question: Comrade Bresis, how do you view the ecological situation which has developed in the republic? How can the government help the inhabitants of Ventspils?

Answer: I believe that this is an extremely neglected sphere which demands the closest attention. Nothing can be achieved here by bans alone. It is not just in Ventspils that a critical situation has developed. The state of affairs is not much better in Ogre, Sloka, or even in Riga. Some people are proposing deceptively simple solutions—close down, dismantle, remove. However, this is no way out of the situation. Imagine that we halt production at the Sloka pulp and paper plant, which supplies the republic annually with 80,000 tonnes of paper. True, this paper is not newsprint, but we swap it for better-quality paper with other republics. Even now we are forced to restrict the circulation of many publications, and in that case we will have to stop their publication almost altogether. Would this suit anyone? Hardly. However, we are taking all possible measures to clean up this production facility. I regard the study and utilization of foreign experience in the establishment of ecologically clean pulp production as a way out of the prevailing situation.

Now about Ventspils. It is true that ecologically very dangerous freight passes through this port. However, let us not forget that the exports which pass through the Ventspils seaport bring the country around R2.5 billion in foreign currency. I believe that part of this money should go to the city. Therefore it is necessary to elaborate as quickly as possible a mechanism for deducting this money. Using this foreign currency, it will be possible, with the help of foreign companies, to shift the port away from the city and to adopt more reliable protection measures.

And one more thing. It is necessary to embark in earnest on the construction of purification installations, which are still lacking in some 40 cities.

Question: How much food is exported from the republic and why?

Answer: Annually we supply 92,000 tonnes of meat and meat products and 640,000 tonnes of milk and dairy products to all-union stocks. Why are we doing this? Year after year we have been unable to meet our stock-raisers' demand for feed. Therefore, in exchange for these products, 1.4 million tonnes of grain feed is delivered to Latvia from other republics. It is possible, of course, to turn down these deliveries at any time. But do I need to explain to you rural workers what would happen then? The living standards of the republic's entire population would deteriorate immediately.

Question: Will there be a law on the allocation of apartments to young specialists?

Answer: It is possible to draft such a law, but it has to be borne in mind that the apartments would be allocated by specific enterprises and institutions rather than the Council of Ministers.

Question: What is your attitude toward pickets, and, in particular, how do you assess the events which took place 6 March in the vicinity of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee building?

Answer: I believe that pickets are a normal phenomenon. People have a right to make their views known, to protest things they do not like. Something else is abnormal—it is when people are patted on the back, no matter what they do. There have been pickets at the Council of Ministers building since 1 January. The same people. They stand there quietly, calmly, without bothering anyone. Let them be. But it was another matter when the pickets posted at our building 13 February spontaneously grew into a big demonstration, even a rally. There was a real threat to people's lives as many were liable to be run over by vehicles. I believe that it is necessary to draw up legal definitions as to what constitutes a picket line, a demonstration, or a rally. Then there will be no such vexing misunderstandings as that which occurred 6 March in the vicinity of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee building.

Question: Comrade Bresis, how do you assess the resolutions adopted at rallies organized recently by the International Front?

Answer: I believe that transposing political problems into the economic sphere is a worthless exercise. Strike threats are the most blatant blackmail, and all people should express their attitude toward this irrespective of their national origins. In my opinion, the party Central Committee is also yet to state its opinion on this.

And as for the people who have not grasped the essence of the political events which are under way in the republic, it is necessary to work with them, to persuade them. Anyone who has chosen Latvia as their place of residence must be made aware that it is the only place where the Latvian people can exist and develop.

Question: What do you expect from the resolution on measures to stem the unjustified mechanical population growth?

Answer: In Estonia the annual mechanical population growth totaled around 8,000 people. A year after a similar resolution came into force, this figure was reduced by a factor of three. Allow me to recall that in our republic this figure still totals 18,000 people per year.

Question: Since the platforms of the chairmen of the councils of ministers of the Baltic republics are identical, would it not be expedient for them to form their own group at the USSR Council of Ministers?

Answer: As we are able to meet regularly to coordinate our actions, I do not think it would be very purposeful to set up such a group. Especially as in this case we would form an outright opposition. After all, by no means all republics support the idea of regional self-management and self-financing. For many leaders it is much simpler to wait for directives from the center—it means a quieter life. [Bresis ends]

I would like to end my account of V. Bresis' meetings with his voters in Tsesisskiy Rayon with the words of one of the candidate's agents—Yanis Duklavsom, chairman of the "Piyebalga" Kolkhoz. "What we need above all," Ya. Duklavs said, "is a man with genuine rights who can really help the republic. And when he defends Latvia's interests in Moscow, it is very important to ensure that he is speaking on behalf of the people, as a person who has been lawfully elected by them. Therefore think hard when you take hold of your ballot paper."

Estonian Candidates Interviewed

AU2803142189 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 27 Mar 89 pp 150-154

[Interview with Estonian Premier Indrek Toome and his opposition candidates Marika Villa and Hillar Kalda, by Joerg R. Mettke in Tallinn: "The Monopoly of the Communist Party Is Already Disintegrating"; date not given]

[Text] DER SPIEGEL: Mr Premier, in the past a man in your position would automatically have become Supreme Soviet deputy in Moscow. Today you have to fight for your seat with two competitors. Do you like this?

Toome: Very much. I have always been a democrat. For the first time since 1940 we have an election with several candidates. Our government has not exerted any pressure on the candidates, for instance, to make them renounce their candidacy. Therefore, those who are now running represent the interests of very different political groups.

DER SPIEGEL: You know the programs of your competitors. Which parts of them do you reject?

Toome: The focal issue is not the question of different programs. The programs are almost identical....

Villa: ...and a matter dear to the heart to all Estonians.

Toome: Our elementary concerns are identical. There are differences in the degree of radicalism. Mrs Villa, for instance, makes more radical demands than I do. She is in favor of immediate fundamental changes, nothing is to be delayed....

DER SPIEGEL: ...and you consider this wrong?

Toome: No, I do not consider it wrong. But we are totally different characters with different political experiences. Mrs Villa's program is not in contradiction to my views.

DER SPIEGEL: Really? You are in favor of an economically independent Estonia; Mrs Villa is for a republic that is totally independent of Moscow.

Toome: A question on my part: Is the FRG a totally independent, sovereign state?

DER SPIEGEL: In any case more independent of its partners and allies than Estonia of Moscow.

Toome: I, too, think that this gestalt USSR has to be put on totally new bases, that many things need to be reformed. The principle of mutuality to which you are referring must become valid in our country, too.

Villa: The free and sovereign Estonia, for which I am struggling, should not necessarily join the USSR, but should be able to choose its membership in a community of interests without external pressure.

Kalda: We have the same principles, all three of us. Only as regards the practical ways of solution are my two competitors extremists, so to speak, in the positive sense. I am somewhere in the middle. I belong to the Executive Committee of the People's Front in our district and that is, as the term shows, a centralist association of all Estonians. However, at the same time I am a Communist, a member of the district bureau.

Toome: By the way, more than 90 percent of the candidates for the elections belong to the Communist Party.

Villa: I do not belong to this 90 percent. I consider this my decisive advantage: I do not have the two famous consciences—the private conscience and the party conscience. Concerning the things I say and write, I make do without this Soviet autopilot that sticks to the course charted by Moscow.

Kalda: Objection, dear Mrs Villa. As a Communist, I too have always been guided only by one conscience through all my life—that of the doctor and psychiatrist.

Toome: Marika Villa's words might give the impression that party members are terrible cynics. This is not correct. I admit that in the past there were many such functionaries and that they were the ones to set the tone at that time. But their number is decreasing.

DER SPIEGEL: In nearby Lithuania, representatives of the most influential popular movement have renounced their candidacy in favor of progressive Communists. Could you, Mrs Villa, imagine helping the progressive party member Toome in a similar way?

Villa: Never. You are right about one thing: Indrek Toome is a progressive man for Soviet conditions. However, to date our life has been poisoned so much by lies that the people really deserve a true alternative. Many do not believe that within a one-party system it is at all possible to fundamentally change things. As an independent candidate, I represent an important hope. We will not make real progress on the way of democratization if we are not finally able to break the monopoly of the party in the field of legislature and the executive branch.

DER SPIEGEL: Mr Toome, you said that you like the choice among several candidates. Would you still like it if these candidates represented different political parties?

Toome: At the moment there is no real political opportunity for the development of various parties. Mikhail Gorbachev, too, has repeatedly stressed this. At the moment, we are on the way toward a constitutional state within our process of democratization. If we achieve this constitutional state one day, the people will be able to decide themselves which system they prefer.

DER SPIEGEL: But what if others have a different schedule and competition parties challenge the monopoly of power of the Communist Party?

Toome: As a democrat, one will have to accept this. In any case, the conflict must be pursued only with political means, without the use of force and without prohibitions. By the way, the monopoly of the Communist Party is disintegrating even now. The People's Front, the Greens, and other movements are playing a considerable role in this.

DER SPIEGEL: The Communist Party also has other considerable problems. The number of members is declining, there are fewer and fewer Estonians among the new members. Does this not call for a multiparty system?

Toome: What you say is correct, and it gives us much food for thought. The tendency to splitting the party into national groups is increasing. To put it bluntly: here Russians, there Estonians. This is a very dangerous thing that we have to avoid at all cost. Parties should constitute themselves on the basis of ideas and not on a national basis. The latter is totally unacceptable to me, in particular considering our situation.

Villa: A party, a social democratic party, is developing here. I think it has good chances.

Toome: Parties must have an idea, a platform, a program. Let us assume that three or four parties develop, which all set themselves the goal of building up socialism, but with different methods. This would be some sort of game, a power struggle between groups that agree with each other in principle. The situation would be really serious only if a totally different goal and a totally different method were considered.

DER SPIEGEL: Thus, if a party develops that is in favor of abolishing socialism. What will happen then?

Villa: Then Mr Toome would hardly be elected.

Toome: Then we would have the situation that a party wants to come to power which basically rejects the Constitution. In the FRG, too, a party cannot simply jump over the Constitution.

DER SPIEGEL: Constitutions should express the will of the people. With the necessary majority it should be possible to change them.

Toome: This is the direction we are moving in at the moment, this is the core of the nature of perestroyka. However, it is equally clear that those who are in favor of a socialist way will clearly defend themselves against all corrections in the direction of capitalism, because we believe that we will be able to convincingly reform our system. So far we have not had any socialism, only Stalinism.

DER SPIEGEL: In explaining his election program, a Lithuanian candidate called the Soviet troops in his country an "occupation army" and the Lithuanian Communist Party a "party of collaborators." Is this an acceptable position for you?

Villa: I fully agree with him. This is also our view.

Toome: We can work politically only within the limits set by the USSR Constitution. But one can dispute whether this Constitution is good in all points, whether it was passed democratically. At the moment, the Army is stationed in all republics. Thus, its presence in Estonia is not illegal. However, this area should not be excluded from restructuring.

Concerning "collaboration": The term can also be translated as cooperation. We are certainly not quislings. Our country is linked with the Soviet Union by thousands of threads, and this means cooperation, unwilling or willing. However, as long as this only worked according to

the principle of orders and submission, people were justified in asking: What are you, Moscow's puppets or the representatives of Estonia's interests in Moscow?

DER SPIEGEL: What kind of relations are you striving for?

Toome: Totally different ones, on the basis of honest partnership.

Kalda: The starting point of any new order must be the complete annulment of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact of 1939 and its political consequences.

DER SPIEGEL: The consequence was the forced integration of the three Baltic states into the Soviet Union in 1940.

Kalda: Everything depends on whether Moscow finally recognizes that our state was annexed at that time.

Villa: And if this is admitted, the logical consequence is that the army which is staying here is naturally an occupation army. It would have to withdraw, a new border would develop, and we would determine our future in a new way. Juridically there is actually no Estonian Soviet Republic, because the Estonians never asked to become members in the multination state Soviet Union.

DER SPIEGEL: What does the premier say to this?

Toome: I basically agree. The USSR Government has to make unequivocal statements on this pact, one of the most criminal outrages of Stalin's foreign policy. My government's demands have been put on the table in Moscow. Of course, the year 1940 also has to be discussed in this connection: It was only the second act in the play agreed on by Hitlerites and Stalinists that took place at that time.

DER SPIEGEL: If a referendum were to take place tomorrow on the question of whether Estonia should strive to withdraw from the Soviet Union and afterwards should adopt a status like Finland—what would be the result?

Villa: If one looks at this from the juridical standpoint, one cannot withdraw from something that one has never joined. But if such a referendum were held only among Estonians....

DER SPIEGEL: ...who in the meantime have come to constitute only 60 percent of the population in their own country.

Villa: Yes, then an overwhelming majority would be in favor of immediate withdrawal.

Toome: I do not want to play prophet in such a serious question.

Kalda: There is much in favor of Mrs Villa's view, it is entirely logical.

Villa: All current difficulties have their roots in the fact that Moscow is not yet willing to admit the gradual decay of its empire.

DER SPIEGEL: In view of the serious conflicts that are emerging, are you not afraid of serious setbacks, perhaps even a relapse into the old policy of force?

Toome: No. What is happening now is completely normal. The past was not normal.

Kalda: I have always been an optimist and I think that the sober mind of the Estonians is their best adviser.

Villa: However, it would be stupid not to see the potential dangers. Therefore, it is so important for us that the West is interested in our situation.

DER SPIEGEL: Do you think that the West would help you if a serious conflict with Moscow were to take place?

Villa: It would be equally stupid to have such hopes. But the West, which betrayed us already once, could try with some energy to make up for its old sins.

DER SPIEGEL: Which of you will be the winner in constituency 461, the south-Estonian Voruland, directly on the border with the neighboring Russian Republic, in the evening of 26 March?

Villa, Toome, Kalda: The best one.

DER SPIEGEL: Mr Premier, Mrs Villa, Mr Kalda, thank you for this interview.

'Playing at Democracy' Lamented

PM2703132589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent L. Levitskiy dispatch under the general heading: "Elections of USSR People's Deputies. To Whom We Are Entrusting Our Hopes"]

[Text] Tallinn—Sleep on it. An age-old piece of advice but poor use to me as a voter. It does not matter whether I do sleep on it, I still have no specific information to determine my choice of people's deputy. All the candidates did was send me an invitation to the polling station. The agent teams of the nine candidate deputies did not remember me. Apart from pasting to the wall of my apartment block a poster representing all nine of them.... Then I was left face-to-face with a ballot paper bearing nine names. I need time to think but there are other voters pushing in immediately behind me.

As a journalist, of course, I know virtually all the candidates to some degree and have read their election platforms, which have been published in the newspapers.

I saw some of them in "televised debates" organized by republic television. But I did not see them all at once; they were not debating among themselves, just at televised meetings. Of course, I was unable to relate this to the need to make one's own choice. Only now do I realize that "my" candidates behaved extremely bashfully in the political struggle that swamped the republic. Some newspaper articles, television comment, and show meetings between candidates and voters were very reminiscent of the "other side's" methods, just as a number of candidates' immoderate promises and overtures emphasized their inflated words and appeals. Now and then episodes in the election campaign that were extolled as genuine democratic policy were more reminiscent of playing at democracy and politics. I will not undertake to voice an opinion on the degree to which this was true.

The current election campaign is in no way reminiscent of previous campaigns. Candidates have mainly been nominated on voting lists drawn up by public movements and fronts. They are fighting for their people. But not all movements are equally active and enterprising, and they also have different capabilities. Second, some candidates have not ended up on the lists of a single public formation. All the "officially listed" candidates do not have equal support and respect. The very few worker candidates are virtually deprived of it. This in my opinion somewhat overshadows electoral democracy. It is also a fact that the role of the republic's party organization is too insignificant here, it alone has modestly kept quiet about its candidates and has no list of its own or a list of candidates it supports. Was that not necessary? Obviously, it was. An Estonian Communist Party Central Committee secretary said regretfully in an interview: "The 'Estonian team' will clearly not be represented in Moscow by its strongest members." But about whom are we to complain? I believe the party should have had its say, even if it was on the eve of the election. Especially as virtually all the contenders for the mandate of people's deputy are Communists....

As a journalist I was interested and intrigued by the political infighting before the election. As a voter I found that no one needed me. The contenders fought among themselves rather than for votes. All the same I made my choice in the polling booth. But I am not convinced that an abundance of candidates also constitutes full genuine democracy.

The republic's population must choose 36 USSR people's deputies from the 104 contenders. I visited six electoral districts—everywhere there was talk of voters' activeness. Calls to boycott the election (IZVESTIYA has written about them) failed and were spurned.

Candidate Chided for 'Hot Air'

PM2803084589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Mar 89 First Edition p 2

[Captain 3d Rank V. Urban article under the rubric "Thoughts Inspired by Readers' Preelection Mail": "There Were Heated Arguments...."]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Letters, letters, letters.... Very diverse problems are raised in them. A particular question relates to political culture and the means used by candidates and their "teams" to achieve their set aims. "Sometimes they 'arm' themselves with sheer promises of 'the world'," Colonel N. Voronov, retired, of Leningrad argues. "The realities of our life are not taken into account."

Yes, good intentions are one thing. And the means to carry them out are another. Muscovite V. Toropin cites the following example. A supporter of someone well known to everyone, who had been nominated a candidate, loudly asked those attending a meeting: "What is your greater need—a flight to Mars or sausages on the counters?"

His candidate advocates a reduction in the space programs. There are many problems in this sphere, and they must also be discussed. But can you really approach complex scientific and economic matters from purely domestic positions? Political hot air, as it were—nothing more.

The mail attests that many candidate deputies from the Baltic republics raised the question of forming territorial or ethnic military subunits. "While recognizing everyone's right to his own viewpoint, we must by no means let this opinion go uncriticized," Captain I. Lavrenov of Vilnius believes.

Politics involve the fate of millions of people and of the country as a whole. And if some people intend to separate all-state interests into ethnic "compartments," this is hardly a sign of their responsible politics or maturity.

You probably cannot dispense with emotions in an election campaign. But some of the candidates and voters tried to use only extreme methods. Something like a leaflet has been sent in from Sevastopol, for example, which urges people not to vote for the commander of the Black Sea Fleet. The essence of this piece of "agitation" is that no good will come of military people at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, and the Army and Navy generally should be outside politics.

I could not help thinking: Nevertheless, the commander of a military district or fleet has opportunities literally to "bombard" voters with leaflets, but these would be unequal conditions in the election struggle. An honest argument is probably the only acceptable means of proving that you are right, both for a party official and a worker, and for a military man and a scientist. And let the people decide whom they prefer.

Let us heed the thoughts of Captain V. Golosenko, who is serving abroad: "The more widely our deputy corps is represented socially, the more questions will be raised by people's deputies." And this is what Reserve Major A. Dustnitskiy (Krasnoyarsk Kray) writes: "I personally favor the holding of genuine debates in our new parliament, and I do not want to hear only obedient voices in support of the leadership."

As regards the thesis of "the Army outside politics...." Readers express their opinions on this too. "Our defensive doctrine is a political matter. But the military above all must contribute to its implementation...," V. Shibnikov, a worker from Moscow Oblast, for example, remarks. [passage omitted]

Baku Elections 'Organized'

NC2803105889 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 27 Mar 89

[Notice by the Military Commandant's Administration of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] The situation in Baku and in the entire republic is peaceful. The elections held for the USSR people's deputies have ended in an organized way. No violations of public laws have been registered.

The members of the electorate, who have gained the right to elect the most worthy individuals to the country's Supreme Soviet for the first time, have cast their votes in favor of democracy, openness, and reconstruction in all the fields in our daily life, including the international relations domain.

The residents of Baku greatly hope that the social problems in the city will be successfully resolved. A normal work rhythm was maintained in the capital during the day.

[signed] The Military Commandant's Administration of the Baku City Special District.

'High Activity' in Azerbaijan

NC2803110089 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 26 Mar 89

[Excerpt] The elections for the USSR deputies in Azerbaijan were held in a spirit of high activity today, as in all the other parts of the Soviet Union. The voters came to cast their votes and fulfill their citizenship obligations by electing those who are worthy to become USSR deputies from among the representatives put forward by 63 regional and national [milli] election okrugs. Under conditions of openness the voters cast their votes in favor of the competent sons and daughters of the people.

A total of 3,400,000 voters were registered in Azerbaijan. Some of the candidates competed for the post of deputy for the first time. [passage omitted]

* Candidates Meet NKAO Voters

18300457a Moscow TRUD in Russian 16 Mar 89 p 5

[Report by N. Vladimirov and V. Knyazev: "The Difficult Road to Renewal"]

[Text] Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast—In Nagorno-Karabakh, as throughout the country, an important stage of the election campaign is under way. In the labor collectives of Mardakertskiy rayon in the oblast meetings have taken place between voters and AUCCTU secretary and member of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Special Management Committee, V.M. Mishin, and first secretary of the rayon party committee V.M. Gabriyelyan—the registered candidates for the post of deputy in the 218th Stepanakertskiy and 728th Mardakertskiy national-territorial districts.

A sharp and impartial but sincere and meaningful conversation took place with workers at the Karabakh scientific-experimental base of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Genetics and Selection.

"We have advanced your candidacies as USSR people's deputies," said K.N. Budagov, chief agronomist at the experimental farm, "and we shall vote for you at the elections. But understand us correctly: I, for example, have been taking part in election campaigns for 30 years and have given many instructions and heard many promises, but that does not mean that I ultimately got specific results or answers."

Scientific associates, vehicle operators, plant growers and workers have been asking many questions: about realistic time periods for social development in the settlement of Leninavan, where most of them live, about supplies of produce, about prospects for development in Nagorno- Karabakh under the leadership of the special management committee, about reform in the country's political system.

They had the right to ask these questions and demand exhaustive explanations. Even during the tense weeks and months in the oblast last year, the international collective at the institute never stopped working for a single day. For how could they cast their national resources to the fates—the unique collection of agricultural plants stored live in a gene fund made up of 22,000 varieties grains, more than 760 grape varieties, 400 legume varieties, 300 varieties of mulberry, and 250 varieties of vegetables and other plants? How could they leave untended the 600 varieties of fruit and berry plants grown by selection work and painstakingly gathered over the years during field work in the Transcaucasus? How could they disrupt the relations between people who had worked there side by side, just because they were of different nationalities?

Despite the complexity of deliveries, and the sometimes direct boycott of all contacts with other regions in the republic, the base overfulfilled the plan for top-grade seeds by a factor of 1.5. Both the base leadership and the rank-and-file workers had to endure many reproaches from those who placed interethnic wrongs above everything else.

After hearing the terrible news of the earthquake in Armenia, by the morning of 8 December the party committee and trade union committee had organized a collection to help the victims and conducted two subbotniks. In addition to the R7,000 collected in cash, with the permission of the labor collective council R100,000 were transferred from the socioeconomic development fund.

People are responsive to others' troubles but they have many of their own. The settlement has no rest home, market or house of culture. The hospital is in a bad state. There is no telephone link with the rayon center. Even the new homes have no heating or gas, and the electricity supply is in a bad way.

There are funds available for social and cultural development and production development. But as soon as it becomes necessary to employ the services of the construction organizations insoluble problems arise. The grain farm could have a poultry production facility for 10,000 birds and provide the rayon with incubated eggs. Expanding the greenhouse, where citrus fruits are grown, would make it possible to supply the local inhabitants with fruit year round. Building a processing shop would reduce harvest losses to a minimum. Unfortunately, however, without funds and without embodied contracts with the construction workers, wages are of no use to the collective.

"Perhaps you will not elect me, but I shall not deceive you," Vagan Mikhaylovich Gabriyelyan stated. "The rayon's economy is in a total mess. Our task today is to create a normal work rhythm so as gradually to extricate ourselves from this failure, switch the economy to cost-accounting relations, solve the problem of keeping young people in the countryside and develop the sociocultural sphere."

Neither did Viktor Maksimovich Mishin promise wonders in his speech. He talked about his own understanding of the present state of affairs in Nagorno-Karabakh and the priority steps that are being taken by the Nagorno-Karabakh special management committee to bring the oblast out of its impasse as quickly as possible.

"I regard my nomination for the post of USSR people's deputy as an expression of the trust placed in the special management committee, as support for the decision to set it up, and as a sign of approval of its activity," he said.

The meeting with the collective from the sovkhoz imeni Tevosyan was a continuation of the dialogue that had been initiated. The club in Arachadzor village could not accommodate everyone wishing to attend. For here, as throughout the oblast, many problems have accumulated—economic, social. People are also concerned about the interethnic conflicts.

How deeply have the candidates mastered the situation? What ways are they proposing for resolving it? Do they know about the difficulties of the sovkhoz and the rayon? This is by no means a complete list of the issues to which the candidates for the post of deputy had to respond.

"We, the members of the special management committee, have already repeatedly noted that for objective and subjective reasons the oblast finds itself in a difficult position," V.M. Mishin said. "There is obvious neglect about what happens to people and to their history and culture. This can be seen well enough in the example of your rayon, your sovkhoz, and the village of Arachadzor. Neglected roads, a dilapidated hospital, stores without products, houses without gas, water or telephone. It is also true that contacts between the Armenian population in Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia in the field of culture and language are extremely weak. Is this normal?"

This is why the voters asked the candidates, if they were to be elected as people's deputies, what they regarded as the main tasks in recruiting the aid of the all-union ministries and departments in order to effect the rapid development of production forces in the oblast, switch to conditions of self-financing and cost accounting as soon as possible, sharply increase the scales of construction for housing, public health, education and culture, and reorganize the indoctrination of the rising generation.

"Agriculture occupies a leading place in our oblast," brigade leader G. Gabriyelyan noted. "Its troubles and problems are close to us and understandable. It is a cause for concern, for example, that profitability is still not very high. As far as I know they are half the level needed for self-financing. Moreover, in recent years viticulture—a very profitable sector for our rayon—has been supplanted by industrial crops. This distortion is now being corrected. We know that the special management committee is planning to transform the oblast into a major supplier of grapes, vegetables and fruit. And rightly so! The climatic conditions simply oblige us to resolve this task. But we must get future USSR people's deputies to ask for help in providing for agriculture in the rayon water and equipment for working on rocky slopes. For today much is still done by hand. It is particularly inexcusable that women are employed to do heavy labor. We must strive for a situation in which young mothers enjoy maximum privileges. These are my instructions both for the AUCCTU and for the USSR people's deputies."

"Major changes for the better are being seen in the oblast, the rayon and our village," said worker R. Zakharyan in his speech. "But there is no miracle and time is needed for everything. So let the members of the special management committee and the future deputies remember that as the planned socioeconomic program is implemented everyone who holds dear the destiny of the people and the ideas of restructuring will rally round us. We realize that no new administrative-territorial arrangement will bring relief if we still have a high infant mortality rate, no provisions are made for old folk, and the shelves in the stores are empty. I think that the best way to normalization is to combine our efforts to deal with our own problems and turn our attention to the state of affairs in our own enterprise, kolkhoz [collective farm] or sovkhoz [state farm]. For it is not some "enemy from without" who is to blame for many of our troubles but our lack of organization, self-seeking, theft and bribe-taking."

The meaning of the political and economic reform being implemented by the party and in which the special management committee is confident, lies in the idea of full popular power. The population in each rayon, each enterprise should itself determine how and where to spend its own cost-accounting income, and which teachers should teach their children, and in which language. This also applies to culture—the most palpable sphere of national self-expression. No matter where a person may live he should not experience injustice and wrong.

Here in this rayon it is not a private problem that is being resolved. Destabilization of the situation also harms restructuring in general, and its democratic forces and goals. That is why it is impossible to stay calm when today some hotheads are divorcing themselves from real life and overemphasizing only their own people—they are cutting off the branch on which they are sitting. They are senselessly weakening the progressive forces.

"As a member of the NKAO special management committee I have already traveled about the oblast a great deal and met with the labor collectives," AUCCTU secretary V.M. Mishin told those present. "I have been placed close to the aspirations of the people of this mountainous region. The people of Nagorno-Karabakh have a love of labor and they truly love their land and their history and culture. I think that through our combined efforts we shall revive all that is good and impart new impetus to restructuring in all spheres of life in the NKAO."

The meeting of USSR people's deputies nominees with the collective at the sovkhoz imeni Tevosyan lasted several hours. All those who spoke at it warmly approved the programs of the nominees and appealed to all the villagers to cast their own votes on election for V.M. Gabriyelyan, first secretary of the Mardakertskiy party raykom, and AUCCTU secretary V.M. Mishin, the candidates for post of USSR people's deputy.

Against the backdrop of the unanimity of the villagers and their desire to make every effort to stabilize the situation in the oblast, and their desire to see their land truly burgeon, the calls of those who want in any way possible to prevent any relaxation of tension and who are again calling for strikes, sound out in dissonance. Unfortunately, some people have responded to the calls of the political extremists. What are they trying to achieve? Their aims are well known: to compromise efforts by the party and government and the special management committee to normalize the situation in the region, urge on people of both nationalities to the final frontier, and hide the traces of corruption in the muddy waters of chaos, and if possible, seize power.

In this situation the platforms of candidates for the post of USSR people's deputy nominated in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast assume an importance a hundred times greater. Will they call for prudence and for peace and agreement between neighbors, and unmask provocateurs urging people on to interethnic discord, and look for ways to solve problems from a position of reason, or will someone try to achieve a "victory" at any price, playing on the sentiments of the immature and simply deluded part of the population? We believe that reason will come out on top. For the people of Karabakh have already seen that the special management committee is making every effort to bring the oblast out of this impasse. Many workers and kolkhoz farmers and enterprise managers have made candid admissions: "We did not think that the committee would be able to do so much in such a short time." But this is only the beginning of a great matter. Its future depends on the unity and efforts of all honest people.

More on Yeltsin-Brakov Election Campaign, Platforms

Election Platforms Reported

PM2803131989

[Editorial Report] Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 March 1989 carries on page 2, under the rubric "26 March—Elections of USSR People's Deputies," a feature headlined "We Present Candidate USSR People's Deputies," which comprises brief outlines of the careers of candidate deputies Ye.A. Brakov and B.N. Yeltsin, accompanied by 1 inch by 1 inch photographs, and 1,100-word statements by them outlining their election platforms.

Brakov stresses the need to accelerate reform and to elaborate a law on national and regional referendums, saying that "one of the first questions for a referendum ought to be the reform of price formation." He perceives as "primary questions" the creation of "special deputies' commissions on military affairs, state security, and protection of public order; and also a legislative prohibition on the use of the Armed Forces without the USSR

Supreme Soviet's consent." He advocates "special attention" for interethnic relations and "the full force of the law against those who inflame interethnic dissension." The remainder of Brakov's statement covers socioeconomic issues.

Yeltsin's statement, carried under the headline "Restructuring Will Bring Changes," is introduced by the following biographical outline:

"He was born in 1931. He is a member of the CPSU, USSR minister, and first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Construction Affairs.

"He is nominated candidate USSR people's deputy from the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic's No 1 Moscow City National-Territorial Electoral Okrug."

The statement itself reads as follows:

"The country's supreme legislative organ must express the people's will in the solution of all fundamental questions and must prevent the adoption of unnecessary, and at times even harmful, decisions and resolutions. All government, political, and public organizations without exception, including the party, must be legislatively accountable to it.

"It is necessary to introduce a practice whereby central organs report to the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"The current Law on Elections is not genuinely democratic. Elections of deputies and chairmen of soviets at all levels must be universal, direct, equal, secret, and always competitive [sostyazatelnyy], including the election of the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"It is necessary to create a state-legal mechanism ruling out relapses into authoritarian forms of rule, voluntarism, and a personality cult.

"It is necessary to struggle against the existing elitist bureaucratic stratum via the transfer of power to elected organs and the decentralization of political, economic, and cultural life.

"Legislation must not be anonymous: Every draft law and amendment must be attributed to its authors, and authors must be responsible for it.

"A people's deputy must have the right to demand referendums on the most important questions of state life (the building and use of the Armed Forces, priority avenues of economic and social policy, construction of nuclear power stations, and so on).

"Concern for man is the main objective of socialism. It is necessary to give even greater priority to a strong social policy and to concentrate all efforts along the three most important avenues: supply of foodstuffs and industrial goods; the services sphere; housing. Larger sums must be appropriated for the solution of these tasks, including by means of reduced appropriations for the defense and other sectors. The implementation of a series of space programs ought to be postponed for 5-7 years. This will make it possible to substantially enhance Soviet people's living standards within 2-3 years.

"Priority in social policy must be given to the socially least protected members of society: low-income families, pensioners, women, and the disabled.

"Bearing in mind the unjustified stratification of the population according to property criteria, it is necessary to intensify the struggle for social and moral justice. It is necessary to aim for equal opportunities for all citizens—from the worker to the head of state—as regards the acquisition of foodstuffs, industrial goods, and services and the receiving of education and medical services. The USSR Ministry of Health Fourth Administration, which today serves the leaders, should be reorientated to meet the needs of society's socially least protected members. The sundry special rations and special distribution centers must be eliminated. The sole incentive for good work ought to be the ruble, with identical purchasing power for all strata of society.

"Only an efficient economy can provide a lasting foundation for a strong social policy. There is a need for a clear-cut scientific program to improve the economy's health as soon as possible.

"Within the framework of this program:

"—the slogan 'Land to the Peasants!' must be implemented. Land must be transferred under long-term leases. People must choose for themselves the forms of economic management;

"—there must be a sharp reduction in the number of ministries and departments, and their apparatus must be gradually transferred to full economic accountability. Enterprises must be given an opportunity to freely withdraw from ministries and the right to engage in autonomous economic activity;

"—there ought to be a 40-percent reduction in appropriations for industrial construction, and they ought to be excluded from the budget as lacking commodity backing. This ought to result in a sharp reduction of the state's internal debt and stabilization of the ruble's exchange rate.

"The solution of economic and social problems is possible only under further development of democracy. Mass media must be given greater independence, and a Law on the Press ought to be adopted defining the duties of press, radio, and television workers and protecting their rights. Mass media must depend not on groups of people but on society.

"Serious attention must be given to interethnic relations. All USSR peoples must have de facto economic, political, and cultural autonomy.

"I share people's anxiety over the acuteness of the ecological problem. It is necessary to adopt a Law on Ecological Responsibility. An ecological map of the country must be drawn up, and an end must be put to industrial construction in regions under ecological pressure, including Moscow.

"A number of legislative acts on young people ought to be adopted. Agreement in principle must be given to the possibility of alternative young people's organizations being created.

"Restructuring and democratization must bring revolutionary changes in our society, and the struggle for them ought to be waged in revolutionary fashion."

UK Paper Interviews Yeltsin

LD2603092189 London SUNDAY TELEGRAPH in English 26 Mar 89 p 1

["Exclusive interview" with Boris Yeltsin by the SUNDAY TELEGRAPH entitled: "Where Perestroyka Went Wrong, by Boris Yeltsin"; place and date not given; interviewer not identified]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin, sacked from the Kremlin's corridors of power 18 months ago for his outspoken attacks on the slow pace of change, has become a symbol of the Russian people's demand for democracy which led to today's parliamentary election. In this exclusive interview with the SUNDAY TELEGRAPH, he discusses the ideas which have made him loved and hated.

What is your electoral programme?

If I can sketch it out roughly: It is vital that we must radically change the work of the country's top legislative body.

We need to change this assembly of puppets into a forum for discussing and working out decisions based on the needs and desires of the people.

We need general elections, direct and equal with a secret ballot for every position from bottom to top, including the president of the Supreme Soviet (Mr Gorbachev). We need to create within the Supreme Soviet a mechanism which would guarantee the impossibility of a return to a totalitarian regime and the cult of personality etc. *(This is the standard euphemism for the Stalin era).*

What are the priorities after the elections?

One measure is an immediate necessity: a press law. Who began perestroyka after all? The mass media at first reflected the way people really thought. The party was beside itself. But newspapers should not be a mirror of thinking from above.

PRAVDA is the organ of the party's Central Committee—why only the Central Committee and not the whole party?

The mass media need to be independent and not have to ask the Central Committee for an interview with me, Yeltsin—an interview which will be thrown in the bin if they don't like it.

One must not forget that unity is the result of a battle between opposites and we need this battle. We must consider political battles as the condition of life in our society. Here they think that as soon as there is a political battle you should call out the police and see yourself facing an enemy of the people.

You know my position on social injustice. If socialism is doing badly, at least the quality of life should not be bad.

That's why I think the right to consumer goods should be equal for everyone from the worker to the first secretary. Everyone's salary should depend on his production. Then the ministers would have to go to the same hospitals as everyone else. Then they'd soon fix things, and you'd see modern equipment, competent doctors and medicines appear.

Are you against the tactics of perestroyka as put forward by Mr Gorbachev?

Some people think I want to be an alternative to Mr Gorbachev. This is speculation by those who have something to gain from it. We have differing opinions on tactics in internal politics. There is disagreement, but in my opinion that is quite normal.

I think where the tactics of perestroyka went wrong was in not starting with problems which everyone would have understood: food, goods and living conditions. We had this grand declaration of "perestroyka on a large front" but we simply do not have the strength, nor the resources nor the finances for such a large front.

We have wasted three-and-a-half years. Now the new direction is concentrating on exactly those three points. We have admitted that we did not have an overall conception of perestroyka.

In future we will have to follow the line: goal, result, goal, result. I think for a strategy of this importance we need to hold up the space programme for five to seven years. We need to cut military expenditure and reduce investment in industrial construction by about 40 per cent.

How have you taken being put on the political sidelines?

Physically I have recovered well from the dramatic events of October, 1987, when I was expelled from the Politburo. I feel well, play sport and work from eight in the morning until 11 at night. But psychologically it's difficult. It's like a bereavement. The wound heals with time, but there are moments when it all comes back and the memory hurts. The lies and calumnies come back.

What were the key issues you raised at that meeting?

The privileges of the nomenklatura, special access to consumer goods. It might not seem vital but it is very badly seen by ordinary people. How can one tolerate one man eating good quality sausage and another not. Perestroyka should have started in the party.

Then there are living conditions. There, too, one has now begun doing something...but we aren't talking about a 10 or 15 per cent improvement but about doubling standards. As for the party budget, it is published but it is hard in practice to work out how it is spent. This needs to be discussed so that the money is not used for building private second homes.

Then there is housing. Here we've been following old habits—making a declaration and asking afterwards if it can be done. We have declared that by the year 2000 every Soviet family will have a flat. Then we did our sums and it turned out that it is almost impossible. If we don't fulfil the promise we will have betrayed the people again.

You now find yourself standing in the same elections as Andrey Sakharov. What do you feel about him as a public figure and possible deputy and the political activity which led to him being exiled to Gorkiy?

Yes, it's true but we have decided to take different routes, absolutely. And that will continue unless he takes other decisions.

I think that he had gone to far but (in exiling him) we went further.

Yeltsin-Brakov Campaign 'Heated'

PM2803083189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondents S. Bogatko, Yu. Kazmin "Reportage from the Capital's Polling Stations": "Moscow, 26 March"]

[Excerpts] Moscow—No Muscovite remembers an election campaign as heated as the one which the capital has witnessed in recent months. At long last have we been given the opportunity to choose rather than merely to vote. And it is as if we had suddenly recovered our sight and realized that each one of us can have his own opinion, sympathies, and antipathies, and that everyone's vote really is decisive.

Attending voters' meetings and their encounters with the candidates and visiting labor collectives, we were able to see for ourselves how openly Soviet people are expressing their personal stances, how the role of public opinion is growing, and how the constructive and creative forces of the people—the true creators of history—are swelling.

In all the 27 okrugs there is an alternative choice, that is, more than one candidate per deputy post is standing. [passage omitted]

A particularly heated election campaign was waged around the USSR people's deputy candidacies at the Moscow City RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] National-Territorial Okrug No 1 between Ye. Brakov, director general of the Moscow I.A. Likhachev motor vehicle plant (the ZIL production association) and B. Yeltsin, USSR minister and first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosstroy [State Committee for Construction]. Unfortunately, emotions often ran riot in this struggle, and not all voters displayed sufficient political acumen. [passage omitted]

New Electoral Representation System Detailed

LD2603102789 Moscow TASS in English 0956 GMT 26 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 26 TASS—Voters in the Soviet Union on Sunday are to elect 1,500 people's deputies of the USSR.

Seven hundred and fifty of them will be elected in territorial districts which were formed according to the principle: One deputy per 257,300 constituents, with the seats being contested by 1,449 candidates.

Another 750 people will be elected in national territorial districts. The principle of representation is as follows: Each union republic has 32 seats, autonomous republic—11, autonomous region—five, and autonomous district—one, with 1,446 candidates competing to represent national territorial districts.

Besides, under the provisions of the newly adopted electoral law, the elections of 750 deputies were held in the preceding two weeks. The deputies are to represent the interests of public organizations in the top state power body. They are elected not by the population but by public organizations themselves in line with the prescribed quotas.

The Communist Party, the trade unions, and cooperative societies were given 100 seats each, the Young Komsomol League, women's and veterans' organizations—75 seats each. Seats in the top state power body are also provided to scientists' associations and creative unions.

So, a total of 2,250 people's deputies of the USSR will be elected. During their congress they will elect from among themselves by secret ballot a permanently functioning bicameral legislature—a USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament).

Elections 'Real Opportunity' To 'Influence' Policy

PM2803084189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by Anatoliy Stepovoy: "For Restructuring, for Democracy!"]

[Text] Many words and concepts are getting their original meaning back.... I am not afraid, therefore, to call 26 March 1989 a historic day. If only because we have now been released from a half-century of honorable duty to cast our votes for the sole, or so it was claimed ever since the days of Stalin, worthy representative of the indissoluble bloc. Now, for the first time, we have the opportunity to make not a sham choice, but an absolutely real one. And the more that democratic principles become established in our life, the less room there will be for lies, hypocrisy, conceit, and self-deception.

These lines are being written a few hours before the polling places open. And, of course, I can only surmise how the first multiple-candidate elections in our country's modern history will start and how they will end.

One gratifying fact I already know: My Young Pioneer sons will not be participating in a sideshow, keeping "watch" over the ballot boxes and saluting everyone who is inclined to get the voting over as quickly as possible, without looking at the ballot paper....

The hands are moving rapidly round the country's political clock. How long is it since many of us were talking about multiple-candidate elections as something remote and unattainable? Twenty, 15, 10 years ago? As it happens, it was only early last year. It was in the fall that the draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies were submitted for nationwide discussion. The schedule was very tight. Why?

Many of us, having yesterday been ardent advocates of swift and decisive steps, suddenly began to have doubts and to waver. There were even calls for the direct opposite: Do not be in a hurry to adopt amendments to the Constitution and the Law on Elections, give more time for careful thought and consideration of all the pros and cons. But could we permit that luxury, when time was moving so quickly? The answer is clear: No. Otherwise, the democratic renewal of society would certainly have come to a halt for at least the next few years.

Indeed, we can clearly see today in the Law on Elections many provisions which have not been fully worked out and substantial gaps. But we are looking at it with quite different eyes. We have learned much in the course of the election campaign. And this practical experience is far more valuable than long debates.

Alas, we have not eliminated all the ills and blemishes of the past at a stroke. Unfortunately, there will be no choice in more than 25 percent of the electoral okrugs. And, of course, one can appreciate the feelings of the people who are again expected to choose the best from only one candidate deputy.

However, even in these okrugs voters have a choice.

Much was made clearer by the recent elections of people's deputies from public organizations. Despite the fact that the struggle for seats was of a somewhat different character from the okrug struggle, the possibility of an unworthy candidate's winning was virtually ruled out completely. Moreover, as a rule, more was expected of popular figures of whom everyone had heard. And by no means all of them managed to pass the final test.

So, on 26 March we will elect USSR people's deputies for the first time. For the first time we have a real opportunity to actually influence the country's policy. In whose hands do we place the deputies' mandates, to whom do we entrust restructuring?

Your choice, Comrades!

IZVESTIYA Draws Lessons From Elections

PM2803131689 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Vyacheslav Shchepotkin article under the rubric "Journalist's Notes": "School of Democracy"]

[Text] A comrade called me on the intercity telephone at night. "Congratulate me. You're the first person I've spoken to. The okrug commission session has just ended. I'm elected...."

Stunning news. It seems the times of the dictatorship of democracy are beginning. As I understand it, there were people who were not very eager for him to be elected. But the voting people had their own, autonomous say.

In this sense Sunday 26 March was for me personally, for instance, not only the DAY OF THE FIRST CHOICE [play on vybor/vybory, choice/elections], when each of us decided autonomously whom to delegate to the highest organ of power and whether to delegate anyone at all, it was at the same time the DAY OF RESURRECTION [play on voskresenye/voskreseniye, Sunday/resurrection] of the people's lost rights. You only had to visit a few polling stations to see this sense of involvement in the awakening that is taking place before our very eyes. And when the editorial office began to receive reports from correspondents and telegrams from voters and members of the public who were at the polling stations on election day, the picture of the events taking place in

the country became as varied as the human world. Or as democracy itself. Look at just the first results! In some places people who according to yesterday's criteria and ideas would automatically have received a mandate from the people to govern, did not even come close to the point at which the respect of the majority of their fellow citizens begins. And conversely, some people who were publicly described as no use to the people by those who control the microphones and newspapers, received mass support on election day.

Many illustrations of this could be cited. But I will mention only one. For Volgogradskiy National Territorial Okrug No 4, the well-known writer Yuriy Bondarev and the little-known—until yesterday—youth leader Aleksandr Kiselev were running. As our correspondent V. Kornev reported, the voters gave preference to Aleksandr Kiselev.

Of course, it is always unpleasant to lose. Especially when previously, for decades, people had no experience of a battlefield like elections. But each of the losers will show human wisdom and political maturity if he draws his conclusions not in terms of personal grievances and still less in terms of looking for "steps" to take, but in analyzing the reasons for what happened.

Especially when there is something to analyze. By election day, nearly one-third of the country's okrugs found themselves, for different but often related reasons, with a single candidate. The organizers of the elections evidently decided from habit that it would be safer to leave the candidates for the deputy's seats unopposed. But today's society is not yesterday's. In many places people regarded this step as a challenge to emerging democracy. How come, the telephone callers to IZVESTIYA said, someone has once again decided on our behalf to leave us without a choice? We do not agree with this and will not allow the past to be revived.

And in a number of okrugs they did not allow it! There, it will be necessary to hold elections again. Repeat elections, this time. So that is the first conclusion for the future: The right to society's trust must henceforth be proved.

Another conclusion is related to this. It must be proved in an open, skilled struggle, by offering new, decisive ways of emerging from the difficult situation in which the country finds itself. Office alone, however high, and high-flown declamations are no longer enough.

But I would place the following conclusion above all these and all the other conclusions that we will draw in future: In the short time offered by a 4-month election campaign, society took a resolute step away from political lethargy and toward political, intelligent activeness.

And here I was about to place a period. But after deciding to end there, I had second thoughts. Is our struggle for the democratization of society already over? Have the elections achieved everything? Will there not be new questions arising tomorrow—how the USSR Congress of People's Deputies should operate, how the country's Supreme Soviet should be formed, who will form it? Finally, what will we take from these elections to the next, when a new election campaign begins in a few months' time? Questions, questions. And since the answers must again be sought by all of us together, I am placing here not one period, but a row of them....

Foreign Media Comments on Elections Noted

PM2803081989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS Political Observer Sergey Kulik article written especially for IZVESTIYA under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Elections in the USSR: Outsider's View"]

[Text] Were one to try to single out what all the foreign articles summing up the results of the election campaign in the USSR have in common, it would be something like this: "Never before has interest in elections in the Soviet Union been so great, either within the country itself or abroad." Judging by the reports coming in from the world's capitals, virtually no major newspaper or television network has ignored this topic. "Never before in the whole history of the Soviet state has an election campaign attracted such close attention," France's LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS writes. "The nomination of several candidates per seat, the pluralism of their programs, televised debates, and mass rallies are the events—unheard of in the political life of the Soviet Union—which have preceded the upcoming ballot."

There is, of course, in the commentaries of certain Western analysts a desire to censure us for the past. There are attempts to present our past "elections without choice" as a kind of congenital "disease of socialism," which—as Dan Rather, the U.S. CBS television network anchorman, put it—"has taken over 70 years to abandon the nomination of a single candidate per parliamentary seat." However, after all that has been said by our own Soviet press about violations of socialist democracy in our country, we no longer perceive such remarks as "anti-Soviet attacks," as in the past, but regard them as objective criticism. Especially if—as in the case of Britain's THE INDEPENDENT—such criticism is followed by the admission that the CPSU itself was the initiator of the renunciation of sham elections and the transition to democratic forms of nominating candidates.

"Under the influence of the Communist Party," France's L'HUMANITE writes, "the Soviet people have discovered a taste for democracy and active participation in sociopolitical life. Furthermore, voters have been given guarantees of the democratic conduct of the elections. Thus representatives of the press, social organizations, and even the candidate deputies themselves can monitor the counting of votes. In general, the whole course of the

campaign has been characterized by unusual enthusiasm, dynamism, and sometimes also passions running high." In this context many commentators note the "heat of the election passions" in Moscow, which a Hungarian television commentator describes as "one of the most visible manifestations of pluralism and democracy in Soviet society in the age of restructuring."

After the world became used to 99.9 percent participation of voters in all preceding elections, the very announcement that 12 people voted against M.S. Gorbachev at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum nomination of people's candidates was presented as the "No 1 sensation" in the Western press. "This is unprecedented," a West German radio newscaster summed up. "The openness of Soviet society, which has been broadly demonstrated in the course of the current election campaign, is surprising. It proves that the Soviets are potentially democratic and that it is possible to deal with them without fearing a relapse into the gloomy times of totalitarianism."

The foreign press has also drawn attention to the fact that—as France's LE MONDE put it—the preparations for the elections in the USSR were largely used "to focus attention on the country's serious socioeconomic problems and, where possible, on finding a speedy solution to them." The speeches of the candidates for USSR people's deputy reflected the Soviet people's desire to move on from words to effective, accurately adjusted actions and to ensure that the Soviet economy becomes more "humane," more geared to satisfying the social needs which were ignored in the past, Japan's MAINICHI observes.

In many people's opinion, the press, and not just the Moscow but also the local press, played a significant role in creating a healthy atmosphere during the election preparations. "The extremely free and critical tone of the Soviet mass media is amazing," France's LIBERATION has admitted, "the newspapers, television, and radio have not been afraid to raise acute problems, subjecting even current election legislation to very sharp criticism."

In general, the fact that, in getting ready for 26 March, we did not engage in window-dressing or in pulling wool over the international public's eyes, that we did not try to prove to the world that we are "different from everyone else," and that we have spoken more about real problems than about fictitious successes has in no way discredited socialism. On the contrary, our political honesty has enhanced the prestige of our socialist state and the authority of its citizens. "Glasnost in the USSR has resulted in Soviet people being viewed as very likeable people whom the West can understand," President M. Koivisto of Finland said in an interview with KANSAN UUTISET.

I will not dwell on the forecasts of certain foreign colleagues regarding the outcome of the elections in some of the most "critical" electoral okrugs. The results will become known within the next few days. In conclusion I would like to quote just one more remark which, in my opinion, makes the main point: "The election campaign that has just ended," a Polish television observer noted, "is one more major step toward implementing the political platform outlined by the 19th all-union party conference. Its main content is the development and deepening of the processes of restructuring, concern for the development of the social sphere, and increased prosperity for the Soviet people."

Vlasov Visits Rostov Oblast 20-25 Mar

LD2503165789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 25 Mar 89

[Text] Raising public welfare, the standard of living, is not conceivable without the active personal participation of every Soviet individual—the chief active participant in restructuring. This was emphasized by Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers, during his 20-25 March visit in Rostov Oblast.

At numerous meetings with the toilers of the Don, the depth, topicality, and importance of the decisions of the March CPSU Central Committee Plenum were noted, decisions which have opened realistic roads for the inclusion of personal interests in the development of public-sector production for the disclosure of the huge potential of different forms of economic management. These were at the center of attention of frank, acute, and important conversations between the RFSFR Council of Ministers chairman and the laborers and collective farm workers, lessees, specialists from agricultural firms from the Sholokhovskiy, Peschanokopskiy, Yegorlykskiy, Zernogradskiy, and Aksayskiy Rayons. A lively exchange of opinions was provoked by conversations on living conditions in the country or rural production teams and at livestock units.

Here, Comrade Vlasov said, the implementation of a real social revolution lies ahead. Large material resources are marked out for the construction of homes and roads in rural areas. But the main source of financing for the new construction work should be the profit of the farms. In the oblast, opportunities to raise the efficacy of agricultural production by means of introducing scientific developments are not sufficiently exploited.

During conversations with specialists from the southern zonal center for the scientific provision of the agro-industrial complex and from the north Caucasian scientific center of higher education, it was emphasized that the agrarian sector especially now needs the support of science and that research into topical issues of practical work needs to be done more boldly.

The impression gained from visiting villages and settlements, rayon hospitals, shops, consumer cooperatives became the subject of an animated conversation with

party economic activists in a number of rural rayons. It was emphasized that party activisits must be constantly among the masses, energetically responding to the needs of people for social facilities in rural areas and the improvement of trade and medical services and other economic matters.

In sections of the Rostelmash production association, Comrade Vlasov spoke with designers and workers and looked at models of new machines being readied for mass production. The need to search for deep reserves for raising the productivity of equipment produced for rural areas was pointed out, so that the maximum, indeed nationwide, help is rendered to rural workers. Tasks of accelerating technical reequiping of light industrial enterprises in the oblast, achieving the highest productivity on the basis of applying progressive forms of payment for labor, and solving social issues were examined in detail during conversations with female workers of the Novocherkassk Sewing Production Association, during a visit to the Rostov Helicopter Production Association, and at an exhibition of consumer goods. It was pointed out that the opportunities available for saturating the market with high quality goods are still not fully exploited. It was emphasized that exhibition models should be put into mass production more quickly.

At the building site of the first power unit of the Rostov Nuclear Electric Power Station [AES], in sections of the Volgadonsk works Atommash, and during conversations with fitters and operators, issues concerning improving the quality of reactor equipment and the reliability of the design and protective systems of the AES and the protection of the environment were examined.

The inhabitants of Volgodonsk and other localities which Comrade Vlasov visited—in conversations on the street, in workers' cafeterias, in hostels, in shops, and at polling stations—criticized the health conditions in towns and rural areas and the occasionally ill-considered architectural decisions on new buildings. They questioned the organization of leisure, the work of schools and preschool establishments, trade enterprises, and road construction.

The chairman of the republican Council of Ministers spoke out sharply against all sorts of window-dressing which tries to make the state of affairs look better than reality. Comrade Vlasov received a large group of oblast inhabitants who addressed statements and complaints to him. The citizens were listened to with attention. The RSFSR Council of Ministers chairman gave frank and direct replies to their questions. In response to many appeals, specific instructions were immediately given to local leaders.

Comrade Vlasov was accompanied on his trip around the oblast by Volodin, first secretary of the Rostov Oblast party Committee, and Pivovarov, chairman of the oblast executive committee.

* Slyunkov Tours Uzbekistan 27 Feb-1 Mar

18000675 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 2 Mar 89 p 1

[Article by I. Novikov and S. Fenyutin: "The Economics: Toward a Rise Through Renewal"]

[Text] How restructuring is faring, what troubles people, what problems demand resolution—these are the issues in the center of attention of a conversation of CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, CPSU Central Committee Secretary N.N. Slyunkov with workers, kolkhoz [collective farm] workers, scientists and specialists during his visit to Uzbekistan 27 February-1 March.

The meetings struck a businesslike tone from the first visit to a collective of the production association of the Tashkent Tractor Factory imeni [named for] 50-Letiye SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. The CPSU Central Committee secretary became familiar with the enterprise's design engineers' latest developments, and shared his impressions regarding bottlenecks in the work of the collective. A new model of cultivator-tractor is planned, he said, but in order to start production, the association requires reconstruction, fundamental retooling, and reorientation in order to put out the more modern equipment so necessary to the cotton-growing republics.

"I recall what your enterprise was like 10 years ago," said N. N. Slyunkov. "Much has changed for the better since that time. But our task is to energetically surpass all obstacles of lagging behind, to create machines of the class which would meet the highest demands of both consumers here and abroad. It is also fine that you offer a broad assortment of high-quality goods to meet public demand."

His acquaintance with the life of the republic, with the affairs and concerns of its toilers, was continued in Samarkand and in the oblast. The first meeting was with workers and specialists of the "Elektrobytmash" production association. And the conversation settled immediately into a businesslike tone: The issues of the further development of production and the improvement of labor and living conditions of the people were confronted. N.N. Slyunkov states "Your refrigerators are on a par with the country's finest, but why not set the maximum goal for yourselves, become the trendsetters of world style. Some of our managers have become accustomed to putting it this way: We don't work any worse than anybody else. Almost nobody says: We will be number one, untouchable."

The discussion with residents of the settlement of the industrial zone, with association workers coming off their shift, was frank. The CPSU Central Committee secretary answered questions concerning the pace of restructuring. Problems still waiting to be resolved were raised in the conversation: housing, the service sector, provisions. During meetings with toilers of the kolkhozes imeni Engels and Moskva of Samarkandskiy Rayon, it

was said that the profit margin of these farms remained low. This results in complications in solving vital social issues. The leaseholders discussed their first steps in the new style of working. The CPSU Central Committee secretary noted that the managers of many farms have not overcome the ossified practice of counting only the supplement to the harvest, the increase in milk and meat production. They forget about profitability and accounting and all it means.

On the final day of his stay in Uzbekistan, the CPSU Central Committee secretary visited the collective of the Tashkent Aviation Production Association imeni V.P. Chkalov, which has more than a few problems of its own. In the course of the meetings and discussions, attention was turned to the necessity for improving progressive forms of labor, as well as improving living and recreation conditions for the workers and their families.

A visit took place at the "Limonariy" kolkhoz-combine, where citrus fruits are grown year-round in greenhouses. In a discussion with specialists, the CPSU Central Committee secretary gave high marks to the scientific selection work of honored Academician of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences Z. Fakhrutdinov and his followers, in the creation of high-yielding types of vitamin- and trace element-filled citrus fruits.

The state of the workers' ideological-political, international and moral education was widely discussed during the meetings and conversations, as were issues on working under the conditions of restructuring of the party-management personnel.

N.N. Slyunkov met with members and candidate members of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, the managers of the Central Committee departments, the leadership of the republic's Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers, the first secretaries of the party obkoms [oblast party committees], the leaders of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences, and the Central Asian Division of the All- Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni Lenin.

All of the work toward deepening restructuring is now being conducted under the strong influence of the pre-election Appeal of the CPSU Central Committee to the Party and the Soviet People. The penetrating, mobilizing word of the party calls for energetic activity in the realization of revolutionary transformations. The appeal obliges Communists, everyone nominated as a candidate USSR people's deputy, to a great deal. The participants in a party-economic aktiv of the Uzbek SSR underscored this during a meeting with the candidate for USSR people's deputy from the CPSU, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, CPSU Central Committee Secretary Nikolay Nikitovich Slyunkov. It took place 1 March in Tashkent.

The meeting was opened by Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary R.N. Nishanov.

The development of the processes of restructuring within the republic, and the overcoming of the negative stratification of the period of stagnation, were discussed by the first secretary of the Ordzhonikidze Party raykom of Tashkent oblast, G.C. Minrazimova; lathe operator of the "Tashselmash" Production Association Yu.I. Stepanenko; first secretary of the directorate of the Uzbek Writers' Union A. Yakubov; brigadier of the "Madaniyat" sovkhoz [state farm] of Karauzyak Autonomous SSR Z. Pirnazarov; spinner of the Namaganskiy Silk Production Association imeni 50-letiya Uzbek SSR, N.I. Agapova; director of the Navoiyskiy Electrochemical Plant G.N. Yan; teacher of the secondary school imeni Kh. Alimdzhan, Koshkupyrskiy Rayon of Khorezm Oblast, M. Rakhmanova; leaseholder of the kolkhoz imeni F. Khodzhayev, Karakulskiy Rayon, Bukhara Oblast, Yu. Makhsumov; chairman of the Council for the Distribution of the Republic's Labor Force, Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences, I. Iskanderov; and director of the "50 Let Oktyabrya" Kolkhoz of Dustlikskiy Rayon of Syrdarya Oblast N. Kayumov. The speakers called for the strengthening of the friendship and brotherhood of the Soviet peoples, tested in so many trials, and to do everything possible for harmonious relations of all nations and nationalities of the USSR.

CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, CPSU Central Committee Secretary N.N. Slyunkov spoke at the meeting.

(N.N. Slyunkov's speech will be published in the next issue of the newspaper.)

N.N. Slyunkov left Tashkent for Moscow on 1 March. He was accompanied to the airport by Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary R.N. Nishanov, Chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers G.Kh. Kadyrov, and members and candidate members of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee.

Solovyev Addresses Leningrad Obkom Plenum

PM2203161189 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 89 p 1

[LENTASS report: "Leningrad CPSU Obkom Plenum: Practical Deeds of Restructuring at Center of Attention"]

[Text] A Leningrad CPSU Oblast Party Committee [Obkom] Plenum was held at the Smolnyy Institute yesterday. It examined questions of the composition of Leningrad party obkom commissions and of the instructions to party, soviet, and economic organs and social organizations on fulfilling the program outlined by the resolution of the 28th Leningrad Oblast party organization conference in the light of criticisms and suggestions voiced during the preparation for the conference and holding of it.

The plenum was addressed by Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad party obkom.

The report to the plenum was delivered by A.M. Fateyev, secretary of the Leningrad party obkom.

The following took part in the debates on the questions under discussion: G.S. Khizha, general director of the "Svetlana" Electronic Instrument Making Association; V.K. Borisov, first secretary of the Krasnogvardeyskiy CPSU Raykom; V.S. Likhachev, director of the "Lomonosovskaya" Poultry Farm; P.A. Podbolotov, party committee secretary of the N.K. Krupskaya Institute of Culture; A.A. Rumyantseva, secretary of the "Vyborgskiy" Sovkhoz party committee; A.A. Bolshakov, deputy chairman of the Leningrad Gorispolkom planning commission; N.S. Bocharova, assistant forewoman at the "Vereteno" Spinning Mill; Yu.P. Arkhipov, secretary of the "Izhorskiy Zavod" Association party committee; A.P. Petrov, a flooring worker at the Leningrad City Main Administration for Housing and Civil Construction's No 20 Construction Trust; I.F. Khabarov, first secretary of the Tosno CPSU Gorkom; V.F. Kovalev, chairman of the board of the Leningrad Oblast Potrebsoyuz; Yu.K. Sevenard, chief of Leningrad flood prevention construction operations; D.A. Medvedev, chairman of the Leningrad War and Labor Veterans Council; and F.I. Mikhaylov, director of the No 307 School in Leninskiy Rayon.

The corresponding resolutions were adopted on the questions under discussion.

Zaykov Visits Sevastopol District Workers 22 Mar

LD2203193589 Moscow TASS in English 1920 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—Ways of speeding up perestroyka and achieving concrete results in Moscow's socio-economic and cultural development were discussed when Lev Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, visited party organisations and work collectives of Moscow's Sevastopol District on Wednesday.

Zaykov visited Emitron plant which specialises in the manufacture of quality elements of electro-vacuum instruments and consumer goods. Candid conversations with workers, specialists of the enterprise were held right in the shops, at work places.

Expressing approval for the course of the Soviet Communist Party at perestroyka, decisions of the recent plenum of the party Central Committee, they emphasised the striving to participate ever more vigorously in the radical renewal of the life of Soviet society.

Workers were saying that in order to achieve this there should be less talking and more action, that it is necessary to strengthen discipline and order, to concentrate on the solution of concrete problems that impede perestroyka.

There must be greater exactingness to Communists, particularly those who are in charge of the sections of work that have a bearing on Muscovites' daily needs.

The lively discussion continued during a meeting with party executives and economic managers of the Sevastopol District. Muscovites now judge executives' work by concrete actions, not by promises, it was emphasised at the meeting. This is shown also by the experience of the current election campaign. Democracy is being learned. At time errors are made. High-sounding promises of some candidates are taken for a real programme of positive transformations. But life will show, just as a litmus paper, what candidates are really concerned over the destinies of the people and who only cherish their ambitions.

Murakhovskiy Cited on Rural Construction Lag

LD2503012689 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] A Soviet vice premier said the government's sweeping social program for rural development will require 1 and ½ times more investment to implement than what is being spent now. Vsevolod Murakhovskiy said in an interview that rural housing construction was lagging far behind urban development, with more than a million people a year migrating to towns. The government's measures to improve housing conditions in the countryside are aimed at stopping the exodus from rural areas.

Yakovlev Addresses Soviet Personnel Aktiv in Italy

LD2203224789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Yakovlev spoke at a meeting of the aktiv of the personnel of Soviet establishments in Italy. He discussed the course of restructuring in the Soviet Union, the decisions of the March plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the election campaign, and the tasks which currently stand before the party and the entire Soviet people at the current stage.

Legislators Discuss Delineation of Power

LD2003133489 Moscow TASS in English 1311 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 20 TASS—A meeting of the working group of Soviet Parliament deputies took place in the Kremlin today. On an instruction from the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament) they worked out proposals on the delineation of federal and republican powers in

the USSR, aiming radically to broaden the union republics' rights in the spheres of state, economic, and sociocultural development, and to seal the rights legislatively.

Main attention was devoted to the elaboration of proposals on further refinement of federal and republican constitutional legislation, taking into account the draft general principles for the reorganisation of the management of the economy and the social sphere of the union republics through expansion of their rights, self-government and self-financing.

The deputies discussed in detail the principles on which the delineation of the federal and republican rights should rest to fully ensure real harmonisation of interethnic relations and the functioning of a strong federal centre and strong union republics.

Estonian Party Official on Ethnic Relations

PM2803095389 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 15 Mar 89 p 4

[Interview with Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Georg Sootla, deputy chief of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Department, by ETA correspondent R. Amos: "Interethnic Relations Are Center of Attention"; date and place of interview not specified; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Interethnic relations are regarded as the touchstone of restructuring. Leninist principles were disregarded in this sphere for decades. Deformed and tangled, they were the reason for many focuses of tension. A conference of chiefs of state and law departments and leaders of subunits in charge of questions of interethnic relations under the union republic Communist Party Central Committees, party kray committees, and oblast committees was recently held at the CPSU Central Committee in Moscow.

Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Georg Sootla, deputy chief of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Department, answered an ETA correspondent's question as to how the CPSU Central Committee regards the current state of interethnic relations and the possibilities for their further development.

[Sootla] In the course of the conference we had a separate session on the nationalities question. It was moderated by V. Mikhaylov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Interethnic Relations Subdepartment. We discussed in detail the preparations for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on interethnic relations and the new elements that restructuring has imparted to these relations.

Talking about the historical "blank spots," V. Mikhaylov dwelt in detail on the events of the forties in the Baltic. Underlining the gravity of these events, he added that now, when history is being objectively reappraised and historical truth rehabilitated, one lie should not be replaced by another. Extremes have never benefited the cause. This entitles us to claim that Moscow is aware of the events of the forties in the Baltic as a problem and a tragic phase in history.

A word about internationalism: It was stressed that we must return to Lenin's concepts and overcome the one-sidedness that has prevailed hitherto. Work to foster internationalism is still linked with all the people except the Russians. In the future greater attention must be devoted to the international education of the Russian people, because internationalists are not born, they are made. Russians living outside their native territory require special attention. There are now approximately 60 million people in this position.

The fact that internationalism has hitherto been regarded as friendship on the part of small peoples with the Russian people can serve as an example of the distorted understanding of internationalism. Equal relations between all peoples and the rejection of images of older and younger brothers are normal.

Going on to speak about Lenin's nationalities policy, V. Mikhaylov recalled that the 12th party congress decisions emphasized that employees moving from centers to national regions should certainly study the language of the people on whose territory they live. Thus we can see that a problem that is so topical today was resolved many decades ago by the collective reason of the party and there is no reason for such acute polemics. According to V. Mikhaylov, it was obviously not possible when adopting the Law on Language to explain to everyone what this act would involve in practice. The current struggle against the Law on Language must be regarded as a struggle by bureaucrats for their privileges. This was a firm and unambiguous stance.

The Soviet Union cannot adopt a single common language law since the linguistic situation in the regions is extremely varied. At union level the concept and methodology of how to approach a language law can be discussed but what the law should be like cannot be dictated in meticulous detail, V. Mikhaylov stressed. Thus the demands that we wait for the plenum on interethnic relations are absolutely unfounded.

[Amos] What opinions were voiced by the participants in the conference?

[Sootla] The opinions were varied. For instance, a representative of the Mary Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic said that although he should talk about the sorry fate of the Mary people, he would first talk about the fate of the Russian people. A just question arises: Why do Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic oblast and kray committees not have subunits dealing with questions of interethnic relations? Perhaps the

Russian people have no such problems? Nevertheless, it is obvious that the Russian people are beginning to lose their identity and party organs are failing to influence this deplorable process.

An Azerbaijani spokesman noted that the theory behind our interethnic relations is essentially the theory of friendship alone between the peoples and when this friendship between the peoples shows signs of cracking we are helpless. For it is quite obvious that the theory of interethnic relations must also encompass the theory of interethnic conflicts. There were also other interesting viewpoints.

[Amos] What did you yourself talk about?

[Sootla] First, about the possibility of organizing contacts between the party and the emergent public movements and, second, about the fact that Stalinist forces in the shape of the International Movement have moved against restructuring in those areas where this process has reached a higher level.

Estonian People's Front Board Issues Statement

PM2403161989 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 12 Mar 89 p 1

["Statement of Estonian People's Front Board"]

[Text] Several tragic dates for the Estonian people fall in March. We have only just honored the memory of the victims of the bombing of Tallinn on 9 March 1944 and ahead is the 40th anniversary of the mass exile of 25 March 1949. These were criminal actions. The continuers of this policy are now preparing for acts of provocation for the same purpose. The International Movement and the United Council of Labor Collectives which has finally openly sided with it want to turn 14 March into the last day of democratization in Estonia.

There is already no point in talking now of the unity of all inhabitants of Estonia. What can we have in common with those who openly declare that Estonia has no right to decide its own affairs for itself, who openly put forward colonialist slogans and urge the use of violence to put an end to the democratization of Estonia? All those who acknowledge the rights of the Estonian people and Estonia's democratic aspirations have the opportunity to join with the progressive people's movement. That opportunity will remain in the future. But we cannot have unity with those for whom Estonia is the arena for the application of colonialist ambitions.

The masks have been cast off. The desire of the organizers of the meeting scheduled for 14 March to speak on behalf of the Estonian working people looks all the more ridiculous. No, this colonialist ruling clique struggling for its privileges has no right to speak on behalf even of the entire Russian-speaking population of Estonia, still less on behalf of the Russian people. Yes, so far they have enough power to drive some simple workers under their banners, but it is not in their power to halt the course of history. It is not 1949 now. The threat of tanks makes it even clearer with whom we are dealing.

With these planned actions it is proposed primarily to cause alarm and uncertainty among Estonia's democratic and national forces. Again the gamble has been on demagoguery and the kindling of national hostility. The gamble is also that we will lose support and that events will get out of control.

It is not in our power to halt these dangerous acts of provocation, but we can influence events. Let 14 March become a day of shame for the antidemocratic forces. Let's not display even curiosity with regard to them. Let's keep our children at home. We still have many days of calm and confident work ahead. Republican economic accountability, the restoration of the rights of the Estonian language, and the publicizing of the colonialist crimes of the Stalin period demand our unanimous support. Let us keep our calm, confidence, and dignity on 14 March and in subsequent days and let us instill these qualities in our rising generation. We will be able to demonstrate our resolve. On 14 March at the end of the working day the regional boards of the People's Front will hold demonstrations in support of Estonia's democratization and the national rights of Estonians in Tartu and other cities of Estonia. And soon such a day will also come for Tallinn.

Our peaceful struggle is just. It is that which enrages the forces of reaction. But together with the other peoples striving for freedom we are marching forward without losing our heads or growing tired.

The board of the Estonian People's Front urges all democratic movements of Estonia to preserve unanimity on the main issues in the atmosphere of acts of provocation. That is the most dignified position for us and the most correct way forward.

[Signed] Estonian People's Front Board.

Party Committee Conducts Rally in Tallinn 14 Mar

Gorkom Prepares for Rally

PM2303100989 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 11 Mar 89 p3

[Unattributed report: "In the Tallinn Party Gorkom Bureau"]

[Text] The Tallinn Estonian Communist Party gorkom [city party committee] bureau has discussed matters relating to a political rally of working people.

The organizational committee of the Joint Council of Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Labor Collectives and an action group plan to stage a political rally of working people on Tuesday 14 March at 1500 hours in the square in front of the city hall.

The party gorkom bureau heard information from Communist V. Yarovyy, chairman of the organizational committee of the Joint Council of Estonian SSR Labor Collectives, and Communist N. Tarasov, chairman of the initiative group, on this matter. The bureau placed the responsibility for the preparation and staging of the political rally of working people on 14 March with Communists V. Yarovyy and N. Tarasov.

The bureau considers that slogans at the rally insulting peoples and specific persons or human and national dignity, inciting ethnic discord, or hostile to socialism and the unity of the Soviet Union are unacceptable, as are other negative demonstrations and actions.

The organizational committee of the Joint Council of Estonian SSR Labor Collectives and the action group have been instructed to coordinate measures with the gorispolkom [city soviet executive committee] to ensure public order, the proper functioning of transport, and other issues.

Estonian Paper Describes Rally

PM2303150389 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 15 Mar 89 p 4

[ETA-attributed report by E. Libman, V. Khyuva, and V. Tsion under the general heading: "14 March: Tallinn, Kokhtla-Yarve, Tartu"]

[Text] As is well known, calls were heard at recent rallies and party meetings at a number of Tallinn's labor collectives and major industrial enterprises for people to turn out to a general republic rally 14 March to voice their desire for the consolidation of all forces fighting for socialist restructuring.

This appeal was supported by the International Movement of Working People Congress and the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] United Council of Labor Collectives.

Several tens of thousands of people arrived at the square in front of the city hall bearing the flags of the USSR, the Estonian SSR, and other union republics under the slogans "We advocate consolidation!" "Down with instigators of ethnic dissension!" "Real Communists join the party organs!" "There is nothing to divide the Russian and Estonian worker," "Rahu meie kodule!—Peace to our home!" and others.

V. Yarovoy, chairman of the Estonian SSR United Council of Labor Collectives and general director of the "Dvigatel" Association, submitted an analysis of the political situation in the republic—which had resulted in the rally—as seen by the United Council of Labor Collectives Presidium. He pointed out that recent events have led to the exacerbation of interethnic relations in the republic. He ranked among such events the adoption of the Estonian SSR Language Law and press attacks on enterprises under union jurisdiction with mainly Russian-speaking workers. The speaker condemned E. Savisaar's speech at the ceremony to raise the Estonian Flag instead of the state flag on Big Hermann Tower.

One by one speakers approached the microphone. Many of them stressed the need to consolidate all the forces that are sincerely interested in implementing restructuring, and spoke of the need to do away with ethnic division, consider the interests of all the republic's ethnic groups, provide all its inhabitants with equal rights, and resolve the economic and social problems left as a legacy of the past. The rally participants called for joint efforts for the sake of Soviet Estonia's economic revival, friendship between all nations in the republic in the name of the happiness of future generations, an ecologically clean environment, amicable discussion of any problems in the future of Soviet Estonia and the USSR, and a genuine golden age of national culture. At the same time they stated the inadmissibility of discrimination against any nation and any language or of schism between the working class and the Estonian Communist Party on ethnic grounds, and the inadmissibility of the republic's authorities adopting decisions that do not consider the interests and opinions of the Estonian SSR's Russian-speaking population. In the opinion of the rally participants, all these phenomena are manifest in the life of the republic.

From time to time a lack of both political culture and tolerance took their toll on the rally. For instance, when the rally's moderator K. Murnikov from Tallinn's I. Lauristin machine plant declared the rally open in Estonian, whistles and yells were heard among the participants demanding that he speak in Russian, although it could hardly be doubted that the speaker knew Russian and began in Estonian out of respect for the national republic in which he lives. The categorical speech delivered by O. Morozov, one of the leaders of Interdvizeniye, that abounded with such words as "force," "enough," "firmness," "demand," and "creeping counterrevolution" sounded quite incongruous against the backdrop of largely restrained speeches.

The rally adopted resolutions and addresses to the Estonian people and also to the USSR's working people.

Guests from Moscow, Leningrad, Kalinin, Kharkov, Pskov, Sevastopol, Vilnius, Murmansk, and other cities took part in the rally.

The rally was attended by E.-A. Sillari, member of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and first secretary of Tallinn Party Gorkom.

After the rally had ended its organizers held a press conference. On opening it, V. Aleksandrov, member of the Estonian SSR United Council of Labor Collectives and director of "Volta" Plant, stressed that the rally was not an end in itself. It should urge people to contemplate their next move. I. Shepelevich, member of the United Council Presidium and director of the Kh. Pegelman

Electrotechnical Plant, explained the United Council of Labor Collectives' stance. Representatives of Interdvizheniye, the republic's strike committee, and others also spoke at the press conference.

Party Members in Rally Criticized

LD2303105889 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1300 GMT 15 Mar 89

[From the "Antenna" program]

[Excerpts] Hello "Antenna" listeners. Today is Wednesday 15 March. This is "Antenna" presenter Tiit Sinissaar. With me in the studio are Raul Malk, a very good colleague, and Peeter Sookruus, deputy head of the Ideology Department of the Estonia Communist Party Central Committee. Yesterday on 14 March a well-attended mass meeting took place near the Linnahall in Tallinn, and today's "Antenna" program is devoted to that event. [passage omitted]

This question has been asked: Communists were standing at the head of yesterday's mass meeting. How is this compatible with the party constitution; is it not a deviation from the party course and outright contra-agitation? And here is another question: A person from Lasnamae wonders if Vladimir Yarovoy was not advertising himself cheaply before the elections?

[Sookruus] I cannot vouch for Yarovoy, but as far as the participation of Communists is concerned in those movements, even the speeches of some party apparatus workers for exan ple at the inter-movement congress, I think this is a question of principle which needs to be assessed and which one needs to consider impermissible. Essentially, they are working against restructuring. In essence they are working toward inciting national hatred and here one needs to give a principled assessment. I think that starting from party groups, local party committees, and town and rayon party committees one needs to start looking at them. Where does one or another Communist stand specifically within the restructuring policy; what is his specific role in carrying out those, well, hatred-inciting events? One cannot escape this here.

On the other hand, of course, the tragedy here lies in the fact that evidently there are as many diverse understandings of what the aims of restructuring are within a national republic as there are people. Here one cannot simply settle things just like this, with one and the same yardstick from above, and to point with the finger that this is correct and that is incorrect; one cannot do that either. One needs a personal approach. But the problem exists and I know that colleagues at the rayon and town committees will begin to deal with this. [passage omitted]

Estonian Movement Urges Interethnic Tolerance

PM2803101989 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 14 Mar 89 p 3

["Appeal of the Delegates of the First Congress of the International Movement of the Working People of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) to the Inhabitants of Estonia" adopted 5 March 1989]

[Text] We, delegates of the First Congress of the International Movement, call on all the inhabitants of Estonia, on every mother, regardless of nationality, political views, or religion!

We call on them to summon up their wisdom, patience, and courage, and to do everything possible in every family, every home, every street, and every labor collective in order to stop the looming final split between inhabitants of Estonia on grounds of nationality.

From earliest childhood children take in the surrounding world and evaluate it according to how those near and dear to them perceive the surrounding reality. And it depends on us adults whether our child will greet a contemporary who speaks a different language or will jostle and threaten him.

The happiness of our children and peace between future generations must not depend on the language they speak. We are all living on the same earth! The future of Estonia depends on our present actions, on our desire to understand each other!

It is not too late yet! We must prevent the tears of mothers and children!

Reason must triumph over all the differences in our relations!

The congress asks the press to publish this appeal without delay.

Adopted unanimously at the First Congress of the International Movement, 5 March 1989.

Riga Club Leader on Repression in Latvia

LD2703151889 Riga in Latvian to Europe 0830 GMT 26 Mar 89

[From the "Amber Coast" program]

[Text] [Announcer] Today on "Amber Coast" we will spend some time with members of the club for politically repressed persons who marched in a procession to the Brethern Cemetery. The red-white-red flag at the head of this procession was carried by Igors Maskots, head of the Riga Club of politically repressed persons.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Do you believe that the era of repressions is now over?

[Maskots] No, I do not believe this. For several reasons we still have to take such a possibility into account. First of all, we do not live under the protection of the law. So any law can be broken. Until our country recognizes the rule of law, such a possibility exists. This is one aspect. As long as there is no law-governed state, and as long as we remain unconvinced that the law protects us, the possibility of repressions exists. By all means it is considerably less than it once was, but it does exist.

[Correspondent] At this time clubs for politically repressed persons have been established at several places in Latvia. What do you think? What is this movement's future?

[Maskots] I think that this movement will expand. In my opinion, such a club or association—it does not matter what we call it—must not only be in every town and every rayon, but also in every populated place, such as an urban settlement and so on.

These associations must fulfill certain functions. Among the formerly politically repressed persons there is a very big percentage of them who have ridiculously low pensions, well under R30. They live in poverty; they live in very bad conditions. This is a result of precisely these repressions, a result of these political repressions. After their turn, they actually remained on the street. They had to settle down as best as they could. Those who were more skillful or more energetic settled down better. Those who were worse off, sicker, or even returned as an invalid experienced more hardship. So then this is one of our biggest tasks: to help these people, to help these people to attain peace of mind. Only we are able to give this. They would not trust anybody else. Nobody else knows those circumstances; nobody else is able to imagine what kind of emotions they [words indistinct].

[Correspondent] How does it appear to you? I was told by a female historian that several camp heads were living in Riga, even some concrete kind of precedents were known at present, when persons had been named who had compiled lists, who had signed the lists [of people to be deported]. [sentence as heard] How does it seem to you? What are they thinking now?

[Maskots] I do not know what they are thinking now. To my mind, they do not regret what has been done because that is the way they are. That is what they are like. They cannot help anything there. They are neither tormented by pangs of conscience nor are they tormented by regret. It seems to me that they are tormented only by the fact that there is no longer any power in their hands. We know a great many of these people of whom I am talking. [words indistinct] they work together with the (?government) their God, their fuel, so to speak, is the revolution. I do not believe that any of them have changed; I do not believe this. [end recording]

Accident at Lithuanian Chemical Plant Detailed

PM2603155589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Mar 89 Second Edition p 8

[Dispatch by Yu. Stroganov, executive secretary of SOVETSKAYA LITVA newspaper, under the rubric "Emergency": "It Happened in Ionava...."]

[Text] Vilnius—On the evening of 22 March, after several days' hard work, the danger which arose because of the accident at Ionava's "Azotas" Production Association was eliminated: The chemical reaction of the breakdown of the nitrophoska fertilizer produced by the enterprise was stopped. Dangerous gases began to be released during the reaction.

The press has reported that an enormous storage tank of ammonia collapsed at the production association. About 7,000 tonnes of liquid poured out. A dangerous cloud moved in the direction of a number of Lithuanian rayons. Some residents close to the enterprise were evacuated. The population was warned in good time about precautionary measures. Thus nature conservation organ workers recommended covering wells with polyethylene film.

But it turned out that the ammonia was not the only danger. Although the seats of the fire were eliminated, a reaction generating a great deal of heat began in the nitrophoska storage facility. Yet another cloud, consisting of nitric oxide, a powerful poison affecting the blood, was particularly dangerous. Nothing like this had ever happened before in the country. How could the reaction be stopped? At first no one knew. The firefighters who joined in the struggle against the disaster in accordance with scientists' recommendations, demonstrated their courage. In complex conditions of heavy gas contamination, wearing gas masks and fully equipment, they played streams of water on the nitrophoska, and cleared the debris.

"People did everything they possibly could in this most complex situation," General S. Nekroshus, chief of staff of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Civil Defense, said. "They worked conscientiously and did not spare themselves."

"We received the alarm 20 March at 1110 hours," Lieutenant Colonel Z. Kemezhis, deputy chief of the Lithuanian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Fire Protection Administration, said. "In accordance with the documents which make provision for such situations, the facility's security units and also firefighters from the nearby rayons went straight to the scene. People from Kaunas also joined in the elimination work. At 1200 hours an operations group from the Fire Protection Administration set out from Vilnius. A great amount of equipment was amassed. We were also helped by colleagues from Latvia and Belorussia. The fires in the

production buildings and elsewhere were quickly extinguished, but no one knew how the nitrophoska would react. It was the first time we had come across such a phenomenon."

Z. Kemezhis named the people who had distinguished themselves in putting out the fire—V. Buchis, chief of one of the Kaunas units, A. Rachkauskas, an administration worker, and others. And I thought how once again people have been forced to display courage because of someone's carelessness. Yes, the nitrophoska's behavior was unexpected. I realize that it was difficult to envisage such an accident, but all the same I cannot help thinking that both the present situation in Ionava and many others which are well known to the whole country have something in common....

However, we are not going to draw hasty conclusions. A competent government commission will analyze the situation. Honor and praise to the people who gave of their best in extreme conditions. The firefighters clearly realized how dangerous the chemical reaction which was taking place at the storage facility was for the health of thousands of people. And they went into the flames, risking their lives: Every hour was precious. Genrik Narkevich, squad commander, sergeant of the internal services, and candidate member of the CPSU, died in this battle, alas.

"We knew Genrik Vladislavovich as a superb comrade and a strong person," R. Petrauskas, chief of department in the republic's Fire Protection Administration, said. "He came to us in 1979 after doing his military service. He was awarded an internal affairs organs impeccable service medal, third class. He received the title master of sport in applied firefighting disciplines. Genrik always attempted to do the most difficult tasks."

"I believe it is necessary to note also the excellent organizational work to eliminate the accident conducted by Ionavskiy Rayispolkom [rayon soviet executive committee] Chairman Yonas Valis and Ukmergskiy Rayispolkom Chairman Alfonsas Bernatas," S. Nekroshus, chief of staff of the republic's civil defense, concluded.

We shall pay tribute to the energy and self-sacrifice of the people who struggled at a difficult time to eliminate the consequences of the accident. We shall honor the memory of the seven people who died. Dozens of people were injured—they are in hospital—and thousands have been evacuated. It is true that the appropriate services operated efficiently, and today the evacuees can return home. All the same, people's puzzled questions will probably remain.

Assertion of 'Witch-Hunt' in the Ukraine Refuted

AU2403122989 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 19 Mar 89 p 3

[Letter to the Editor: "When People Forget About Party Ethics...."]

[Excerpts] Esteemed Editorial Board:

Allow me, a CPSU member for many years, to state my opinion about the attempts made by writers I. Drach, P. Osadchuk, and V. Yavorivskiy; literary critics V. Bryukhovetskiy and V. Donchik; and some other comrades to launch the "People's Movement of the Ukraine for Restructuring" or, as it is being called, the PMU. [passage omitted].

Since 1956 I have been engaged in the construction of the Kiev subway. I take pride in my work in the subway transport facilities of the Ukraine's capital city. We Communists building the Kiev subway belong to Leninskiy Rayon party organization in the city. Comrades Drach, Yavorivskiy, and other Kiev men of letters are registered in the same rayon party organization, and Comrade Osadchuk is even a member of the raykom [rayon party committee] bureau. Therefore it seems to be inescapable that we will be speaking plainly with those comrades. [passage omitted].

A few weeks ago, when discussion on this subject was already in full swing, I chanced to listen to a remarkable BBC Russian-language program. A correspondent of the foreign "voice" had a telephone conversation with Ivan Drach in Kiev. In reply to BBC questions, this well-known poet and holder of USSR and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic state prizes claimed that our objections to his initiative were "absolutely immaterial," and labelled his opponents as "Hollywood actors." He alleged that the criticism of the PMU draft program was conducted "roughly in the same way as it was in the case of the novel 'Doctor Zhivago' when people criticized the novel and were indignant about it without having read it." But how is it possible to make such a comparison: We, all critics of the PMU draft program, of course, have read this extensive document in the newspaper LITERATURNA UKRAINA.

But what particularly shocked me was the following statement made by I. Drach to the BBC correspondent: "A witch-hunt has now begun in the Ukraine." This is the way this comrade in our rayon party organization, in an interview with a foreign "voice," interprets our well-substantiated and considered appraisal of his ambitions! [passage omitted]

Apparently, party members acting as initiators of the PMU have to refresh their memories about the CPSU Statutes. Last but not least, they have to remember that ideological and organizational unity is an inviolable law in our party's life, that any manifestation of factionalism and grouping is incompatible with adherence to the Marxist-Leninist party. They have to remember that every CPSU member is obligated to strengthen the party's ideological and organizational unity, and to oppose any acts harmful to the party and the state.

[Signed] V. Volochkov, mine building engineer, deputy chief of the Kiev Subway Construction Administration.

Georgian Landslides Leave 30,000 Homeless

PM2803100189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Mar 89 First Edition p 6

[Nonstaff correspondent O. Gadaborshev report: "Creeping...Earthquake"]

[Text] Groznyy, 22 Mar—With the coming of spring heavy landslides have begun in the mountains of Chechen-Ingushetia. Layers of earth up to 300 meters deep have moved on slopes, as a result of which a "creeping earthquake" has begun in Nozhay-Yurtovskiy and Vedenskiy Rayons.

Approximately 800 houses, schools, kindergartens, lines of communication, and power transmission lines have been destroyed, arable land and forests have suffered, and 30,000 people have been made homeless. In the place where the villages of Tsentoroy, Engenoy, and Tsa-Vedeno used to stand the ground has reared up, smashing everything that was there. Residents of the city of Groznyy and of other rayons in the republic have rushed to help those affected. People have countered the elements with organization and courage. The prompt measures taken have made it possible to avoid loss of life.

The situation in the republic's mountainous rayons is complex. The creeping earthquake resumes periodically. This necessitates the removal of more than 10,000 people from these rayons.

The Chechen-Ingush Oblast CPSU Committee Bureau has outlined emergency measures to eliminate the aftermath of the elements and give further assistance to those affected. A state commission headed by M. Kerimov, chairman of the autonomous republic's Council of Ministers, has been set up.

Relief Efforts Described

PM2803111789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Mar 89 Second Edition p 6

[Report by special correspondents A. Khatuyev and M. Mikhalkov under the rubric "We Report Details": "Landslides in the North Caucasus: Together Against Misfortune"]

[Text] Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic—Misfortunes do not come singly, folk wisdom maintains. The inhabitants of mountain settlements in Chechen-Ingushetia's Nozhay-Yurtovskiy Rayon have once again seen this for themselves. In January unprecedented snowfalls hit this region. Blockages on the roads cut off communication with the outside world. People and livestock units could be supplied only from the air. When tunnels were driven through the snowdrifts, life returned to normal. But the elements raged again in March, when warm weather set in. The snows began melting rapidly, and landslides swept housing, production buildings, and communications down with them.

...We were heading for Engenoy. Previously it had been possible to get there a shorter way via Dzhugurty. But a landslide has cut the road, and you now have to go a roundabout way via Khasavyurt in Dagestan and then via Tukhchar and Nozhay-Yurt.

Engenoy greeted us with unusual silence. People had gathered outside the miraculously preserved building of the Ordzhonikidze Collective Farm Board.

"There were 530 houses in the village," A. Aliyev, secretary of the collective farm's party organization, said. "More than 300 buildings have been destroyed."

There probably will not be a village on the site of the present-day Engenoy. The residents no longer wish to test fate and are asking to be resettled on the plain.

"Geologists predict the same fate for other mountain settlements in our rayon," Kh. Bibulatov, first secretary of the rayon CPSU committee, said. "This prognosis complicates the already difficult situation in the disaster zone. Much has been done to give emergency aid to the victims through the efforts of the staff headed by M. Kerimov, chairman of our autonomous republic's Council of Ministers. Many families have been moved to the plain zone. They have been given a cordial welcome by the residents of neighboring villages in other rayons. On learning of the disaster which has hit us, the leaders of the Dagestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic's Novolakskiy Rayon came to us with an offer of help. The inhabitants of that rayon's villages stopped our truck columns and offered shelter and food to those hit by the disaster...."

Compassion and sympathy in sorrow are fine features of our people's character, but they still cannot resolve all problems in the disaster region. The issue of the water supply has now become acute in the villages. Storehouses containing fertilizers and toxic chemicals were swept away and polluted water sources. Water carriers are needed, but there are not enough of them. There is an urgent need for tents—people cannot live out in the open. The snows in the mountains will continue melting until roughly mid-May, the number of people requiring resettlement could rise to 30,000, and all options must be envisaged in good time so as not to be taken by surprise and unawares.

"This is what we are doing," M. Kerimov, chairman of the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, said in conversation with us. "We conferred this morning with Army General V. Govorov [USSR deputy defense minister], who has flown here. The military will give what assistance it can to supply tents for accommodation and public catering centers. The sanitary-epidemiological service is constantly monitoring the state of the environment. Food is being brought in. But we have no grounds for complacency. The situation is changing daily and, unfortunately, not for the better. Whereas on the first night of

the tragedy we had 394 destroyed dwelling houses, not counting public buildings and production premises, this figure has now topped 2,000."

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers is taking emergency measures to assist Chechen-Ingushetia in its trouble. And now, during these days, representatives of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic State Planning Committee and State Committee for Construction are promptly deciding on the spot, in the disaster zone, where to send assistance from and in what volume. Road equipment is needed, for there is a danger that highways will be blocked, and then villages will find themselves cut off again. Additional funds are needed for food and medical supplies. Is it possible to count up everything that people in the natural disaster zone need?

People are now hastening not only from the North Caucasus republics but also from other oblasts of Russia to help the victims of the natural disaster. Geologists from Pyatigorsk are working without rest in mountain regions: An accurate forecast of the situation is needed. Landslides are continuing on their crippling way, and the inhabitants of villages which may find themselves in the danger zone have to be moved in good time.

By the fall six new settlements for them are to emerge in Gudermesskiy Rayon, and one each in Groznenskiy and Shalinskiy Rayons. The people we have met say that they themselves will build their houses in a new place. But there is still a shortage of construction materials and equipment. And they are hoping for assistance in this. It will certainly come: To share misfortune is a tradition of the real friendship which has always united Russia's peoples.

Progress Made in Rebuilding Armenian Quake Zone

NC2303134489 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0525 GMT 23 Mar 89

[From the review of SOVETAKAN AYASTAN]

[Text] A new phase has begun in the efforts to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake. The (?preliminary work) on the documentation of the draft plans is virtually over, the concrete operations for the construction organizations have been decided, and the necessary material-technical base has been created. All these, coupled with the favorable spring climate, (?bode well) for increasing the reconstruction and rebuilding of the cities and villages damaged by the disaster.

Suren Arutyunyan, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission and first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, and Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, visited Amasiyskiy, Artikskiy, and Arakatskiy Rayons to view the progress of construction, to resolve the existing problems, and to study first hand the problems distressing workers.

At Oktogli Village in Amasiyskiy Rayon work has begun on the construction of 11 houses. Taking into account the topographical and technical complexities, the foundations are being laid deep and in concrete. The agricultural-chemical workers of the Nevopotrovskiy Oblast must commission 62 houses, a 50-seat kindergarten, and other buildings this year, and brigades organized in the Aygavan Village of Akhurtyansky Rayon are working with them. This large international collective is displaying an example of good work and is meeting the necessary targets of quality. However, sufficient living amenities have not been created for the builders. The transportation links between the rayon center and Leninakan are bad and there are problems in organizing the provision of foodstuffs. Local officials are not dealing with these problems closely. A worker, Mardirosyan, on behalf of his builder colleagues, brought these unresolved issues and other distressing problems to the attention of Suren Arutyunyan, their candidate deputy in the elections for USSR people's deputies from No 737 Territorial Election Ogruk and first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

Comrades Aryutyunyan and Silayev drew the attention of the leaders of the relevant organizations to expediting the work in the rayon center. During the discussion it was also indicated that the local party and soviet administrative organs are paying insufficient attention to ways to meet the socioeconomic needs of the population.

Comrades Arutyunyan and Silayev visited the Lithuanian builders and expressed concern over their working and living conditions. The Lithuanian friends are to build 65,000 square meters of residential area, 25,000 of which will be built in the town of Ani-Bemza.

During the meeting with the constituents of the No 737 Territorial Election Okrug many accumulated and unresolved problems were discussed. Ways to overcome these problems were outlined and proposals were put forward.

The paper has published an extensive account of the meetings which Comrades Arutyunyan and Silayev held with the workers in Amasiyskiy, Artikskiy, and Arakatskiy Rayons.

Armenian Earthquake Commission Meets 25 Mar

PM2803101489 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report under the rubric "At the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission": "Improving Supplies for New Construction Work"]

[Text] As the front of restoration work develops, the situation in the earthquake zone dictates a sharp increase in the production of local construction materials. Armenia's natural resources make it possible to supply construction sites in the affected regions fully with stone, ballast, and sand, but the industry's inadequate base is

holding up extraction and production of these materials. The fulfillment of priority measures for the development of additional capacities for the construction materials industry this year and next was examined at the latest session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission in Yerevan on 25 March. The session was conducted by I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

It was noted that as a result of the measures adopted initially, it has already been possible to achieve an increase in the production of ballast, natural stone, and porous fillers. The republic Council of Ministers and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Ministry of Construction collaborated particularly successfully in this sphere, succeeding in considerably increasing the capacities of the major Pemzashen and Saral nonmetallic quarries. On the initiative of the Ministry of Construction in Northern and Western Regions of the USSR and the Ministry of Construction in Southern Regions of the USSR, restoration of the Leninakan and Kirovakan ferroconcrete structures plans is in progress.

At the same time, after hearing reports from leaders of a number of sectors and departments, the commission noted laggardness on the part of the Armenian SSR State Committee for Construction, which failed to ensure the issuing of design and estimate documentation and the allocation of land plots for new facilities. Nor has it eliminated serious shortcomings in labor organization, as well as in the creation of the necessary social and living conditions for worker collectives at enterprises and quarries.

It was noted that enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building failed to deliver 10 mobile ballast production units, bulldozers, and excavators.

In the light of all the circumstances the commission adopted a decision to form a republican cosntruction materials production association in Armenia, which is charged with coordinating all work to improve supplies to new construction projects. The attention of the local mass media was drawn to the need to more consistently publicize the construction industry's problems. The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers was instructed to report on the sector's results for April at a commission session.

A briefing was heard from the republic People's Control Committee on power supply measures in connection with the closure of the Armenian nuclear power station.

S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the commission's work.

Commission Discusses Reconstruction

NC2603124589 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 25 Mar 89

[Text] The reconstruction of the cities and villages damaged by the earthquake within 2 years, as stipulated in the relevant decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, is primarily contingent on the extent of the republic's buildings industry—the state building materials industry—to meet the demands of the building organizations. The operations of the production sector must be synchronized with the pace of the reconstruction.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission on the elimination of the aftermath of the earthquake in Armenia, during its regular daily meeting, focused on the upgrading of the building materials industry and tackling the problems of increasing the razing of stones and non-mineral substances. During its regular meeting, held today under Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, the commission addressed the necessity of an expeditious resolution of problems concerning the production base of the building materials industry and the upgrade of the building materials production for the years 1989-1990.

The directors of several ministries and supervisory boards addressed the meeting on the stage of operations. The commission pointed out that so far certain work has been done to implement the 20 December 1988 decision of the USSR Council of Ministers. The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers has formulated and stipulated measures for increasing and enhancing the output capacity of the local building materials in Armenia. The cooperative work between the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers and Ukrainian Building Materials Ministry at the Daral and Bemzashen quarries was highly praised for expeditiously organizing the production of 800,000 cubic meters of building materials and [word indistinct] materials yearly.

The ferroconcrete production factories at Leninakan and Kirovakan are being rebuilt according to the initiatives of the USSR Ministry of Construction in the northern and western regions and the USSR Ministry of Construction in the southern regions. A number of union and republican ministries are creating a building materials production base on the localities.

Despite all this, it was pointed out at the commission's meeting that several of the most important measures envisaged have not been (?fulfilled). The Armenian State Committee for Construction Affairs was criticized for failing to quickly prepare documentation papers for the preliminary design plans and inventory for the construction of the new buildings, to allocate the land plots, and to (?specify) the capacity of ore deposits. Probably, there are also serious shortcomings in the coordination of the

utilization of the production capacity, the introduction of contract labor, the upgrade of production quality, and the improvement of the living conditions of the enterprises' workers.

The commission recommended that the Armenian Council of Ministers and the [word indistinct] of the Soviet Union and union republics ministries and supervisory boards take decisive measures to consistently upgrade the capabilities of the building industry, the production of building materials, and to impose strict controls on the unconditional fulfillment of all proposed measures. The commission endorsed the Armenian Council of Ministers decision to set up a republican building materials production amalgamation which is authorized to coordinate the supply for all the construction sites and to eliminate shortcomings.

Next, a statement was read on behalf of the Armenian State Committee of People's Control concerning the progress of the implementation of the commission's 7 February 1989 decision on the power conservation in the republic in view of the Armenian nuclear power plant closure.

The commission also discussed the transformation of the Armenian nuclear power plant and questions about expediting the construction of the energy units at the Razdan state power plant.

Suren Arutunyan, the first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; Grant Voskanyan, chairman of the presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet; Vladimir Markaryants, chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers; and Oleg Lobov, second secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the session.

New Armenian Association To Open Up Farmland

PM2803092389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
23 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent S. Bablumyan dispatch: "To Return Productivity"]

[Text] Yerevan—The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers has adopted a resolution on creating the "Rekultivatsiya" [Recultivation] Production Association. Its task is to compensate for the enforced losses of agricultural land as a result of the allocation of some of it for the construction of housing to replace that destroyed during the earthquake.

I asked V. Movsisyan, first deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, to say how the new association will conduct its work.

[Movsisyan] This subdivision will take on the entire package of work to plan, restore, and open up land for public-sector production and the population. We have tried to envisage everything so as not to waste any land: We will remove and store the topsoil from absolutely the whole area that has been allocated for nonagricultural purposes and for the construction of reservoirs and water tanks. We will procure organic fertilizers at major livestock units and poultry units and prepare compost and organic fertilizers on an industrial basis. Incidentally, several ecological problems are thereby being resolved at the same time.

[Bablumyan] But won't the fulfillment of ministry and department orders once again push into the background assistance to people who would like to consider the land as really theirs?

[Movsisyan] This must not happen. The resolution states as a separate paragraph that the association will do the same work also for cooperatives, horticultural associations, and citizens' personal plots. Of course, in the form of paid services, including the provision of transportation. We intend also to set up a broad network of centers to prepare compost and various compounds, with small wholesale and retail trade stores at the centers. I am convinced that the new service will help to utilize the land more efficiently and restore its strength.

Local Reaction to Yerevan Trial Deprecated

PM2803113189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Mar 89 Second Edition p 8

[TASS correspondents P. Shamrayev and A. Shchiglenko report written especially for PRAVDA and carried under the "Courtroom Reports" rubric: "'Zvartnots': The Epilogue"—first paragraph is a boxed introduction]

[Text] **The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Court has finished hearing the criminal case charging A. Gevoyan and A. Pogosyan with having organized unlawful actions which resulted in the disruption of operations at Yerevan's "Zvartnots" Airport 4-6 July last year.**

Yerevan—Let us briefly recall the essence of this case. In the course of one of the mass rallies held in Yerevan during those days in July on the "Karabakh" Committee's initiative, two unknown persons wearing civil aviation uniforms called on those assembled to make their way to the airport and force its collective to come out on strike. On arrival at "Zvartnots" the demonstrators blocked the approach roads to the airport, as well as the airport terminal buildings and the offices of the republic civil aviation administration. Aircraft were prevented from taking off and airport operations were paralyzed. This jeopardized air traffic safety, and especially that of an Il-86 Airbus which was coming in to land at that time with 300 passengers on board.

All actions by demonstrators over a period of almost 72 hours were led by Gevoyan and Pogosyan, persons without permanent employment who had been dismissed from their previous work for their negligent attitude toward labor and absenteeism: one from his job

as a machine operator, the other as an auxiliary employee at a workers' household goods store. They ignored all appeals and attempts at persuasion by the airport administration and representatives of party and soviet organs to terminate the blockade of "Zvartnots" and lead people back to the city. Instead of this, the leaders of the demonstrators persisted in putting forward absurd demands.

The trial, presided over by G. Nadaryan, member of the Armenian SSR Supreme Court, lasted almost 2 months. All evidence was fully and thoroughly examined.

The panel of judges (Lay Judges A. Mkrtchyan and A. Khachatryan) established that A. Gevoyan and A. Pogosyan were correctly charged with the commission of a crime defined by law as the organization of or participation in group actions associated with a breach of public order, failure to heed legitimate demands by representatives of the authorities, and the ensuing disruption of operations by a state enterprise. The accused were sentenced to deprivation of freedom for 18 months, the sentences to be served in a general regime corrective labor colony.

And that, one would have thought, is that: Some people have been punished, others have been taught a lesson for the future. But we felt perplexed by the conclusion of the trial. Who are the ones who should have been taught a lesson? After all, more than 500 people who were present when sentence was passed chanted in unison: "Freedom for Gevoyan and Pogosyan!"

Grachik Ambartsumovich Nadaryan showed TASS correspondents a large and bulky roll of individual and collective petitions to the republic's Supreme Court carrying more than 30,000 signatures and appended to the case file. They make a single demand: to acquit the organizers of the airport blockade or, if punishment was deemed necessary, to punish them only symbolically.

None of the "defenders" of the violators of socialist legality, including writer A. Sainyan who delivered a speech, perceived the real social danger of "democratic exercises" by thousands of demonstrators.

Anyone but Gevoyan and Pogosyan is guilty of organizing the demonstrators' march and the blockade of "Zvartnots," according to their defenders. They uttered nothing but accusations against leaders of the airport and the republic civil aviation administration, who supposedly failed to clearly explain to the organizers of the disturbances that they should not be acting in this fashion, that their actions were not nice, and that "Zvartnots" did not wish to strike. Blame lies with party organs, the authorities, and even...the central press, radio, and television which failed to provide proper (according to whose criteria?) coverage of the July events in Yerevan.

There you have it. It is, of course, sad that the city with its 1 million residents did not produce any speakers apart from Gevoyan and Pogosyan to pick up the loudspeakers and clearly say: "Come to your senses, people. Where are you going and who are you following?" Neither Sainyan nor any representatives of the republic's other creative unions were to be heard at that time, people who could have reminded those assembled of each and every one's social responsibility for his choice and his actions....

The trial in the wake of events at "Zvartnots" which has now ended failed to attract the due attention of the broad public in Armenia's capital and its mass media. For some reason, many people feel embarrassed to talk aloud about the trial which has ended. This is a pity. It is hard to teach lessons in whispers.

Armenian Deputy Transport Minister Disciplined
PM2803104989 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 17 Mar 89 p 3

[ARMENPRESS report: "Punished for Indiscipline"]

[Text] The Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers has condemned the behavior of E.G. Manasaryan, Armenian SSR deputy minister of motor transport, who permitted indiscipline, and he has been severely reprimanded.

He deserved this punishment for his irresponsible attitude to fulfilling his professional duties, for failing to ensure the smooth and uninterrupted work of the city's public transportation in Leninakan, and for failing to fulfill the instructions of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers on urgent measures to bring order in the motor transport's work.

E.G. Manasaryan has been warned that if he does not ensure that the city public transportation returns to normal as soon as possible, the question of his suitability for the post will be examined.

In the resolution the attention of G.B. Badeyan, Armenian SSR minister of motor transport, is drawn to the poor standard of the sector's work.

Yerevan Authorities Caution Soccer Fans
PM2803101189 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 17 Mar 89 p 3

[Yerevan City Soviet Executive Committee and Military Headquarters "Announcement"]

[Text] On 17 March at the "Razdan" Stadium, at the country's next league match, Yerevan's "Ararat" will play host to "Dinamo" soccer players from Kiev. As is known, after the last soccer game a group of citizens, mainly teenagers, conducted an unsanctioned procession through the city's streets, breached public order, and disrupted transportation.

The Yerevan City Soviet Executive Committee [Gorispolkom] and the leadership of the Military Commandant's Office appeal to you, esteemed citizens and fans, to observe public order both at the stadium during the game, as well as after it, not to disrupt transportation, and not to permit certain elements for whatever reason to instigate people, particularly teenagers, to commit illegal acts. Such unrest arouses justified indignation among their fellow citizens, and genuine sports lovers. Incidentally, the people of Yerevan are capable of assessing the sporting struggle impartially, and have magnificent sporting traditions, and a shadow must not be allowed to be cast over them.

At the same time it should not be forgotten that unrest during the curfew can be a reason for limiting mass sporting events in Yerevan.

[Signed] Yerevan Gorispolkom and Military Commandant's Office

NKAO Plant Incorporated in Armenian Association

PM2803090989 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 8 Mar 89 p 2

[Aleksandr Grigoryan dispatch: "Welcome"; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Aleksandr Grigoryan has started his duties as ARMENPRESS own correspondent for Nagorno-Karabakh. Here is his first dispatch from Stepanakert.

The Stepanakert Electrical Equipment Plant named for the 60th anniversary of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast has been incorporated in the "Luys" Production Association.

A new page in the working life of the Artsakh [ancient Armenian name for Nagorno-Karabakh region] lighting engineers and their colleagues from Armenia, who are linked by long-standing friendly professional relations, began with in-depth study of the tasks facing them at the initial stage of joint work. The association's leaders and leading specialists visited the plant. The guests asked about the enterprise's technical-economic state and its financial position. As it turned out, a great deal of work lies ahead.

"We got down to resolving the problems which had arisen without too much shillyshallying," plant Deputy Director Karen Petrosyan told your ARMENPRESS correspondent. "Our compatriots will take part in retooling enterprises and will help to diversify the range of output manufactured. Thus we will obtain from Armenia stocks of crystal for subsequent processing and the manufacture of chandeliers from this valuable glass. This will make it possible to expand production and largely resolve the question of migrant employment, which is a painful one for Stepanakert. With assistance from our 'Luys' colleagues, a new branch of our plant will be constructed and commissioned. The association will also cooperate in amalgamating similar Stepanakert Electrical Equipment Plant subdivisions."

The Karabakh skilled craftsmen will not be in debt. They will significantly increase the manufacture of high-quality plastic components which the association badly needs.

The collective of the Stepanakert Electrical Equipment Plant, which enthusiastically received the news of the plant's incorporation into the "Luys" Production Association, is striving to avoid letting down its compatriots and disgracing itself. The Artsakh lighting engineers can really work. The enterprise's output—electric light fittings, fluorescent lighting for production-technical, cultural, everyday, and medical purposes, and other items—is delivered to hundreds of Soviet cities and to a number of foreign countries.

These days the enterprise workers, who since the beginning of last year have been working under conditions of full economic accountability and self-financing, are devoting all their efforts to overcoming the lag allowed to occur in connection with certain events. They coped successfully with February's targets in terms of contractual obligations and commodity output.

Nagorno-Karabakh Writers Form Separate Union

NC2703091689 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] The long-standing dream of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] writers has been realized. A separate organization of NKAO writers has been created, which unites nearly 50 authoritative writers. The formation of the organization will undoubtedly invigorate the literary life of the NKAO and will assist in developing and broadening creative and fruitful ties with their brother writers in Armenia and in the other union republics. This was stated by Vartan Akopyan, poet and candidate of philological sciences, who was elected the first secretary of this organization. The day is not far off for the publication of the first issue of ARTSAKH, our printed literary, artistic, social, and political newspaper, whose pages will be a mirror reflecting the progress of distinctive literary processes in the NKAO. Because an editorial-publication firm has also been set up in the NKAO, our writers will now have the opportunity to publish their books in Stepanakert instead of, like beggars, knocking on the doors of the publishers outside the borders of the NKAO, as was previously the case. Giving a separate existence to the local writers organization is an important step in the realization of the broad plan for the cultural development of the NKAO which is being implemented by the Special Administration Committee of the NKAO.

Situation 'Peaceful' in Azerbaijan 25 Mar
NC2703094689 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0430 GMT 26 Mar 89

[Notice by the Military Commandant's Administration of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] The Military Commandant's Administration of the Baku City Special District announces that the situation remained unchanged in Baku and in the entire republic yesterday. The situation was peaceful.

[Signed] The Military Commandant's Administration of the Baku City Special District.

Azerbaijan Council Adopts Gas Supply Measures
NC2003112689 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] The Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers has adopted a decision on the measures needed to complete the supply of natural gas through the gas supply networks to pilot residential areas.

It is common knowledge that the pace of the work to supply natural gas to the republic's rayon centers, collective farms [kolkhozes], and state farms [sovkhozes] is unsatisfactory. More than 2,700 [word indistinct] gas pipelines have not been laid to 12 rayon centers. Consequently, a significant amount of labor is required for the procuring and transportation of (?coal) and other means of heating. The forests are being cut down considerably. The ecological situation is deteriorating. Many establishments and organizations have accepted this situation. They are not making initiatives in the field of gas supply and the improvement of rural areas in the social domain.

The Azerbaijan SSR State Planning Committee, State Committee for Construction, and State Committee for Gas Supply were instructed to supervise the work schedules for supplying the maximum amount of natural gas to centers which supply communal livelihood materials to the people, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes, [word indistinct] the (?plans) which establish the amount of the main capital investments and material and technical resources that are required, and approve the system for natural gas supply in Azerbaijan SSR during the first 6 months in 1989.

Natural gas will be supplied to Balakhany, (?Adris), Zhdanov, Zakataly, Zardob, (?Gerebey), and Shaumyan Rayons in 1989; Dzhabrail, Lerik, and Mardakert Rayons in 1990; and Kel'badzharsky and Yardymly Rayons in 1991. The pipelines which supply has to Dzhalal-abad, Masally, Pushkino, Sadyrabad, and other towns will be replaced during the next 2 years.

The ministries, main administrations, unions, and establishments were instructed to draw up measures to supply natural gas to [word indistinct] kolkhozes and sovkhozes, which [words indistinct] agricultural establishments on the basis of the material means and the resources provided by the housing fund, from the natural gas distribution networks in the regions where they have their own department branches during the first 6 months in 1989.

According to an agreement with the USSR Ministry of Gas Industry, plans have been made to renovate the Baku gasworks factory to increase the annual production of four-burner gas cookers to 100,000.

Azerbaijan Commission To Speed Up Rehabilitation
NC2203123989 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] A decision has been adopted by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee to speed up the work that is being carried out to rehabilitate people who were unjustifiably penalized in the republic during the (?1930's) or [words indistinct].

In view of the political importance of the matters related to the process of exonerating persons who were unlawfully penalized and the [word indistinct] against those who permitted injustice and lawlessness to occur, a commission headed by Comrade Viktor Polyanichko, second secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, has been established. Comrades Zeynalov, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee; [name indistinct] and Guseynov, members of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau; Akhundov, candidate member of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau; Dashdamirov and Aliyev, department chiefs of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee; and Fataliyev, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium, were elected as members of the commission.

The republic's procuracy, the Azerbaijan SSR Committee for State Security, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs were instructed to speed up the work that is being carried out to deal with the affairs of persons who were groundlessly convicted and people who were unlawfully exiled to special places under administrative procedures. They were also instructed to inform the Central Committee on a timely basis of the situation of the exonerated persons so that matters concerning their (?return) to the party can be considered.

The Azerbaijan SSR Council of Trade Unions, the Azerbaijan SSR Leninist Communist Youth League, the Azerbaijan Ministry of Culture, the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences, and the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Popular Education were advised to (?cooperate with the commission) in order to actively help the procuracy organs in drawing up the required reports on violations

of law at the time of [words indistinct]. Meanwhile, the establishment of commissions affiliated with the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Nakhichevan Autonomous SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the city and rayon soviet executive committees, which will also include people's deputies and social representatives, has been deemed necessary to help the exonerated persons have their rights and interests reinstated.

AZERINFORM, the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, and the editors of the republic's newspapers were instructed to give wide coverage to the work carried out to [words indistinct], exonerate the innocent people who have been committed to penitentiaries, and clear the names of such people. They were also instructed to give wide coverage to the truth about them. A special press group has been set up within the framework of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee's State Legal Department for this purpose.

New Religious Leader for Central Asian Muslims

NC2103083089 Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 16 Mar 89 p 6

[Text] Moscow (REUTER)—The new head of the largest group of Muslims in the Soviet Union was elected during the regular annual congress of the Muslim Board of Central Asia and the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] in Tashkent yesterday.

Mukhammadsadyk Mamayusupov, president of the Supreme Islamic Institute in Tashkent, was elected to replace Shamsuddin Ibn Ziauddin Khan Ibn Ishan Babakhan, who resigned as the chairman of the board in February as a result of the protests against his womanizing and drinking habits.

The Muslim Board of Central Asia and the Kazakh SSR, which is one of the four Islamic establishments recognized by the Soviet regime, deals with religious affairs in many of the Soviet republics. The religious organization, which is based in Tashkent, the capital of Uzbek SSR, is reported to be maintaining moderate relations with the Soviet administration.

New Islamic Leader Interviewed

LD2403132989 Moscow TASS in English 1228 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—By TASS correspondent Anna Grigoryeva:

Mukhammadsadyk Mamayusupov, rector of the Islamic Institute in Tashkent, has become very popular with Islam followers in the Soviet Union after the retirement of the religious head of Muslims Ibn Ziyautdinhan Babahan. Mukhammadsadyk Mamayusupov was elected mufti, chairman of the religious Muslim Board for Central Asia and Kazakhstan, at a congress held in Tashkent early this month.

In a TASS interview the new mufti said he "was grateful to his co-religionists for their trust and expected permanent assistance from them. They elected me to head the top religious body at this historic time of great changes which affect all Soviet people and, consequently, believers."

The religious leader expressed the hope that "with the help of the all-merciful Allah perestroyka will bring about many changes, including in relations between religious organizations and the state." There is convincing evidence that these changes are real, he said. The first one is the return to believers, by decision of state organisations, of the Muslim relic—the Osman Koran.

"We will keep this ages-old relic in the religious board of Muslims in Tashkent and do everything possible to keep it in conditions worthy of this sacred object," the mufti said.

The head of Soviet Muslims explained that the believers of the entire region rejoice at the opening of new mosques because Muslim communities are being registered in various regions. In the past month alone 25 mosques were turned over to communities in Uzbekistan, six in Tajikistan and three mosques in Turkmenia.

The religious board, the mufti said, advocates wider publication of Korans and other religious literature. Books are needed for religious education establishments and simply for believers.

The mufti said a new law on freedom of conscience is expected in the USSR. He believes that "the adoption of the document will facilitate better understanding between people of all faiths, as well as wider cooperation to promote friendship and peace between people."

Mukhammadsadyk Mamayusupov said one of the main tasks facing the religious board is to extend the training of religious workers, develop contacts with the Muslims of other countries, and promote pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina—holy places for all Islam followers. Special attention, the mufti continued, should be paid to the moral upbringing of the congregation and their families.

"The ideas of perestroyka carried out currently in all Soviet republics coincide with our ideals," the mufti said. "We Muslims should join those who seek purity of thought, justice, who fight vices which humiliate man."

Kazakhstan Official Discusses Restructuring

LD2603140989 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 89 pp 1-3

["Report of the Bureau of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee on Organizational Work by the Republican Party Organization on Implementing the Decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference" reported by M.S. Mendybayev, Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee second secretary]

[Excerpts] Comrades! A sufficient length of time has passed for a comprehensive appraisal of the level and the scope of our work on implementing the decisions of the

19th All-Union CPSU Conference. It opened before party members and all working people a new stage of restructuring, namely the stage of practical resolution of large-scale problems, connected with satisfaction of urgent material requirements of the Soviet people, the creation of a law-governed socialist state, restoration of the full power of soviets, and development of self-government.

The task we face at present is to examine from principled party positions what has been done by the republican party organization to implement the course marked by the party conference defining the way to eliminate existing shortcomings and defects. We must also check our actions against reliable reference points worked out by the party. [passage omitted]

There is a great reserve of democratization in the intensification of social activity. However, this process of intensification, as a whole, needs to be thoroughly and comprehensively studied and to be kept under constant party control. It is no secret that a lot of froth has appeared on the wave of restructuring, initiated by the party. A lot of so-called unofficial leaders have also appeared on this wave, and their actions and calls contain quite a lot of maximalism and overshooting as well as unsubstantiated attacks on party and soviet bodies. Though the danger of this was frankly discussed at the 19th party conference, we did not feel its full effect at that time.

It is different now. We have witnessed the activization of various groups and formations. Standing up, in words, for restructuring, advancing sharp slogans allegedly relevant to the present, members of these organizations slide down to the positions of open demagogy. They try to acquire a cheap popularity through catchy phrases.

We must not also close our eyes to the fact that the politicalization of some unofficial organizations in the republic has intensified. Moreover, various kinds of emissaries from beyond Kazakhstan's limits have started frequenting many of Kazakhstan's towns. The so-called "Democratic Union" is trying to set up "branches" in Alma-Ata, Karaganda, Uralsk. Representatives of the Pamyat Society and the "All-Union Socio-Political Club" have not fallen behind either. "Proclamations," "appeals," etcetera to "support," "develop work," and "begin to act" are coming from the addresses of many bodies from the Baltic area and Transcaucasus. A group of emissaries of the "People's Front" from Latvia has arrived at the Writers Union in Alma-Ata with a view to—neither more nor less—"teach" the Kazakhstanites how to set up a similar formation here. To protect the honor of our writers, it should be said that the uninvited guests were shown, so to say, the door.

And well done. Each time someone tries to peddle alien ideas on behalf of the people and under the banner of democracy and glasnost, this must be considered political activity of an aggressive kind and should be given a decisive rebuff. [passage omitted]

The marked tendency toward an increase in the number of cases of CPSU members leaving the party on their own initiative and returning their party cards cannot but cause concern. If in 1986 there were 32 such cases, then last year there were already 264. What is causing this phenomenon? There are various causes: from dissatisfaction with the progress of restructuring to those which solely concern aspects of life, such as bad living conditions. Every such case must become the subject of the closest attention of the party committees. [passage omitted]

We all remember the period when many newspapers, including the central ones, were giving indiscriminate treatment to "meeting" democracy in the Baltic republics, in Yaroslavl Oblast, etcetera. These publications were infused with the idea, sometimes veiled and sometimes explicit, that there allegedly is real democracy, that there the restructuring front is passing. Life has shown how harmful such an interpretation is. Look, here too, some people, referring to those materials, were ready to propagandize just the outer aspect of the changes taking place in society. Today it is possible to say with full assurance that the position taken by the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee on this issue has been fully justified. The rebuff given in the press to all kinds of loudmouths and demagogues—people who were trying to distract the working people from urgent tasks and to switch the points so that the way would lead into a verbal dead end—has not allowed destabilization of the situation in the republic or interference with work on urgent concrete issues. [passage omitted]

Three groups of topical issues have been offered for broad discussion now. They are connected with revising the status of the republic, broadening its rights, and broadening the authority of local government and local authority bodies; with socioeconomic construction; and with development of the language culture. The results of the discussion on these issues have permitted a complex of proposals to be worked out toward the CPSU Central Committee's plenum. [passage omitted]

It is too early to speak at present about a final solution to the language problem, as discussion is continuing and the final results of the public opinion have not been summed up. Nevertheless, I was entrusted with expressing the view of the Buro of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee on this subject, at which we have unanimously arrived in the course of a circumstantial conversation in which first secretaries of party oblast committees participated. Our position envisages a state Kazakh-Russian bilinguality with the guarantee of free development of the languages of all nationalities and lesser nationalities—without exception—who live in our republic. It is such a decision that meets most fully the interests of their development, as well as political, social, and cultural requirements. [passage omitted]

Tajik Party Secretary Reports on Ideological Issues

PM2703151589 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 10 Mar 89 pp 1-2

[TADZHIKTA report: "Path of Renewal: From Republic Ideological Workers' Conference"]

[Excerpts] As already reported, a republic ideological workers' conference was held in Dushanbe 4 March.

A.D. Dadabayev, secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, delivered the report on the ideological situation in the republic and party organizations' tasks. [passage omitted]

Questions of interethnic relations demand the closest attention of ideological cadres now. The problems which have built up in this sphere and the ways to resolve them will, as we know, be examined at a CPSU Central Committee plenum this summer. However, there are many matters which we must determine and settle for ourselves today. Glasnost has given the people the opportunity for an open and committed discussion of the whole range of these problems in labor collectives, at Communists' meetings, in the press, and on television and radio. And thanks to that, the number of these problems has not grown, as some people tend to think—they have simply surfaced and become the subject of public debate.

Last week in Tashkent there was a regional scientific-practical conference of the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan, on the theme: "Topical Problems in the Improvement of Interethnic Relations Under Conditions of Glasnost and the Democratization of Social Life." A large delegation from the Tajik party organization took part in its work.

While exposing everything that is negative, contradictory, and alien to the sphere of the development of nations and national relations today, the speaker went on to say that we must base our practical work in people's internationalist education on the party's methodological directives that neither the most flagrant mistakes, nor distortions and deviations from Leninist principles of socialism, can dislodge our people or our country from that path which it chose in 1917.

Socialism's fundamental gains have enabled the party to begin restructuring, which has illuminated the darker aspects of interethnic relations and at the same time created the conditions for overcoming them by means of democracy and glasnost.

Specific measures have been devised and are being implemented in the republic to carry out the guidelines of the 27th party congress and the 19th all-union party conference and the CPSU Central Committee's well-known resolutions on the development of interethnic relations. Commissions on interethnic relations have been created, as has the corresponding sector in the structure of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee apparatus.

Our ties with the neighboring fraternal republics, primarily Uzbekistan, are developing at a qualitatively new level. This was facilitated by the meeting between the two republics' leaders, where an accord was reached on further strengthening cooperation in various spheres. Programs are being implemented for joint activity by creative unions, the republics' academies of sciences, departments of the Soviet Culture Fund, publishing houses, and representatives of culture and sport, public education, health care, and the mass media.

Gradually, step by step, in a calm and businesslike manner, on a truly democratic basis, in the direction of restructuring, and in the interests of strengthening friendship, the problems in relations between the two fraternal peoples are being resolved and—we are sure!—will be resolved. Of course, there are still many acute, unresolved questions in all spheres of our mutual relations. We make no secret of that. To resolve them fully will take time and much patient, practical effort from both sides.

The rise of national self-awareness in all republics, including ours, has produced the most urgent discussion points on language problems. The Tajik Communist Party Central Committee shares the public's concern on the stagnation in the development and usage of the Tajik language and the restriction of the sphere of its use and social functions. At the same time it is impossible to agree with the opinions appearing in the press from time to time that Tajik-Russian bilingualism is the main cause of illiteracy among schoolchildren and young people. Serious shortcomings and omissions persist in the teaching of Tajik and in the work to raise the standard of the population's speech in general education schools, vocational and technical colleges, and higher and secondary special educational institutions. Taking all this into account, the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers adopted the special resolutions "On Measures to Improve the Study and Teaching of the Tajik Language in the Republic" and "On Measures to Further Improve the Study and Teaching of the Russian Language in the Republic" in May 1988. Both documents were received with approval.

We quite justifiably expected that party and soviet organs, along with the relevant ministries and departments, scholars, and the teaching community, will embark vigorously and objectively on the practical implementation of the planned measures. Almost a year has passed since these decisions were adopted but, regrettably, the situation regarding the study of the languages is essentially unchanged. I would like to remind those present in this hall that back in 1987, before the adoption of the resolution on the Tajik language, the former Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic

[SSR] Ministry of Education announced a competition for the production of 23 new Tajik language textbooks. In 2 years just three manuscripts have been submitted—in other words, the competition has essentially not taken place. Who is to blame for that? The Central Committee? After all, if that is the attitude toward the language then no status will help it!

Here is another fact. The resolution deemed it expedient to create a coordinating council on the Tajik language under the republic's Academy of Sciences. However, this council has still not been created. The shortcomings in the teaching of the Tajik language and literature are only slowly being eliminated. How long will we go on accepting the fact that 4th- and 5th-grade pupils are scarcely able to read and write their native language? The majority of general education school-leavers have only a superficial knowledge of their people's historical and literary heritage.

This is our problem! The unsatisfactory fulfillment of the Central Committee and republic Council of Ministers resolutions on languages are the clear consequence of the lack of monitoring from obkoms [oblast party committees], gorkoms [city party committees], and raykoms [rayon party committees] and our inability to highlight the priority areas of our work.

The language question arose again at the first session of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee Commission on amendments to the Tajik SSR Constitution. A republic Supreme Soviet Presidium commission was created to prepare proposals on the status of the state language in the Tajik SSR and on the procedure for the use of languages in the Tajik SSR. The commission is working on this and the population is kept regularly informed.

I would only like to note that the writers of the majority of the letters and suggestions sent to the commission do not clearly understand the full complexity and urgency of the question of the state language—that this is less a question of which language to use for laws, resolutions, and official correspondence as a question primarily of how all our peoples should lead their lives and how to preserve and develop the amicable relations which have been formed among people of the various nationalities living in our republic. We must not allow the languages of other nations and ethnic groups to be harmed or their rights in the use of their native language to be restricted. The recognition of Tajik as the state language should also define the place and significance of Russian as the language of international communication.

It is not by chance that I have dwelt in such detail on linguistic problems. During the discussions on them, healthy and businesslike debate often gave way to what was, putting it mildly, demagogic tub-thumping. This applies primarily to the question of the study of the Arabic script. In view of young people's interest in the cultural heritage, the classics of Turkish and Persian literature, and the works of philosophers and other thinkers of antiquity, courses in the study of the Arabic script have begun in the republic under the auspices of the Soviet Culture Fund, the "Znaniye" society, and in some higher educational institutions. Around 500 people have already completed them. More than 12,000 pupils are studying Persian and Arabic in the public education system this academic year. The study of the Arabic script by correspondence course has been organized through the newspapers ADABIYET VA SANYAT and GAZETAI MUALLIMON.

Atheist work also requires today approaches which are better thought out and politically verified.

For decades we seemed to have alienated believers from social life and often denied them moral encouragement for conscientious labor. Now it is clearly realized that such an approach is harmful—for atheist education also. Soviet organs and the entire aktiv must be directed to show more respect to believers' spiritual world and to satisfying their legitimate needs. After all, believers are cotton growers and construction workers, too.

The people, ordinary workers, and kolkhoz [collective farm] members say with pain in their hearts that they are tired of the heavy burden of bride money and other religious rites, but that they cannot speak out against them or refuse to observe them for fear of public opprobrium. The people are really waiting for us to set a practical example. Meanwhile, the situation is further aggravated by the fact that some Communists, Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] members, and leading officials, not to mention teachers and other categories of the intelligentsia, themselves participate directly in religious rites and engage in religious activity on their retirement.

It must be borne in mind that the new approach to religion and believers does not signify a change in our attitude toward the religious world outlook.

Now a few words on the environment. A whole series of acute problems are on the agenda in this sphere, problems which were ignored in the past. These problems include the environmental situation in Dushanbe City, the environmental impact of the Rogunskaya and Nurek Hydroelectric Power Stations, the Tajik Aluminum Plant, the Yavan Electrochemical Plant, the accumulator plant planned for construction in Kulyab, and so forth. The Central Committee's stand on these issues has been set out in the press and in various documents on numerous occasions.

I would like to add one thing: There is an urgent need to draft and implement a comprehensive environmental program for the republic. This is now the main task not only for collectives of the Tajik SSR State Committee for Nature Conservation, the Nature Conservation Society, the "Tadhzikles" Production Association, and other interested ministries and departments, but of all the

public, too. The question here is to create an economic and legal mechanism regulating the exploitation of nature, the saving of resources, and reducing the burden on nature under conditions of the intensification of production. In addition, it is extremely important to enhance the population's environmental awareness.

In the solution of environmental problems party organizations must work together with the public. Local soviets must really take charge of nature conservation questions in their own city or rayon.

There are quite a few problems connected with the protection and restoration of historical and cultural monuments. More than 2,000 projects of this kind have come to light in the republic now. Restoration work has been completed at only 13 of them.

Many monuments in Leninabad and Khatlon Oblasts and Tursunzadevskiy and Fayzabadskiy Rayons have been demolished by decisions of the local ispolkoms [soviet executive committees], while others are in a neglected state.

The public calls with alarm for the preservation of monuments, but the situation is changing very slowly. Soviet organs have avoided this work. There is no single organ of leadership of this specific sphere and it has virtually no modern scientific and material base.

It is time to comprehensively revise the attitude toward this necessary work and achieve a breakthrough. Ultimately each person's civic stance is determined by his attitude toward historical monuments and the cultural heritage.

I would also like to broach the fundamental issue of national traditions, rites, and holidays. The public's increased interest in these most important elements of spiritual culture is understandable.

It is necessary to thoroughly and cogently reassess and creatively revive the age-old traditions of our people by a process of selection and by cleansing them of religious elements imposed in the past by Islam. There is some experience of this already, such as the revival on a new socialist basis of the "Navruz" and "Mekhrgon" festivals. Unfortunately, many broadly popular festivals and ceremonies have been undeservedly forgotten. It is necessary to revive and make maximum use of their moral, aesthetic, and humanist potential to improve the spiritual and psychological atmosphere, in internationalist and atheist education, and in raising the standard of interethnic contacts.

Mention must also be made today of such an extremely alarming phenomenon as suicide and, in particular, self-immolation. The number of such cases is increasing in many rayons. A large proportion of the suicides are women and girls, many of whom take no part in social production, have no contact with life, are often outside the sphere of ideological and educational influence, and are socially defenseless.

During the study of these questions in Gissarskiy, Dzhilikulskiy, Nauskiy, Tursunzadevskiy, and other rayons, quite a few cases came to light where girls had been prohibited from continuing their education and from marrying for love, where their dignity had been flagrantly impugned, and where they had been insulted because they had been "bought" for bride-money. Tragedy often results from events like these. Unfortunately, many party committees underestimate the urgency of the situation, do not give negative facts a principled evaluation, and limit themselves to half-measures—mainly the holding of all sorts of conferences which yield no tangible results. We have a good few social formations of different kinds which could help in the struggle against relics of the past and wasteful expenditure on civil ceremonies. Formations such as district [makhallinskiy] committees and women's councils. But the problem is that they essentially do nothing, or pursue purely formal or routine measures.

It must be said that the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers republic commission on new festivals, ceremonies, and rituals, and the relevant commissions under the local soviet ispolkoms, show no activeness either.

While our esteemed writers and poets are clashing in various debates on the language issue and other highly topical questions, the turnover of books in the libraries is falling. People, particularly the young, are reading fewer and fewer books. Indifference to literature, music, the theater, and the fine arts is unfortunately not a small-scale occurrence but a mass phenomenon which cannot be attributed solely to the shortcomings of party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations.

A special role in the solution of many questions is played by the intelligentsia, which actively influences the shaping of people's national self-awareness and the standard of communication between individuals and nationalities. Sadly, among scientists and cultural figures there are also those who are confused, who have lost their sense of balance under the complex conditions of democratization and glasnost, whose irresponsible actions fuel unhealthy passions and feelings, and who do not consider the consequences of their actions. There is another category of representatives of the intelligentsia, particularly the rural intelligentsia, which is completely indifferent to the processes taking place, and merely aids and abets outmoded traditions and religious rites.

It should be openly acknowledged that political passivity and the deviation from the positions of restructuring by some representatives of the intelligentsia are the result of

errors in ideological work with them by party organizations, particularly primary party organizations. The corresponding conclusions must be drawn from this. [passage omitted]

Paper Rejects Report on 1941 Atrocities

LD2103140189 Tallinn RAHVA HAAL in Estonian 7 Mar 89 p 4

[Excerpts] During the current period of restructuring Estonian SSR law protection bodies are engaged in rehabilitating citizens who were illegally repressed and also in clarifying the circumstances of mass repressions and persons guilty of repressions. [passage omitted]

Alongside true information with respect to crimes of the Stalinist period, distorted fabrications were also published. Thus, the editorial board of the "VIKERKAAR" magazine published in its November 1988 issue an article entitled "The Time of Horror" by M. Laar, which claims that either the Red Army or the fighters of the Destroyer Batallion were responsible for three villages being destroyed in Estonia, together with their inhabitants, and for children being nailed to trees. In fact such man-hating actions were not committed in 1941 by the Red Army and the fighters of the Destroyer Batallion in Estonia, and M. Laar's claims are false fabrications, the spreading of which is punishable criminally. The Estonian SSR Procurator's Office has started criminal action.

'Repressions' Memorial Projects Exhibited in Chita

LD2003111289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0537 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Chita (Eastern Siberia), 20 Mar (TASS)—An exhibition of competition design projects for a monument to those of the Trans-Baykal who fell victim to the repressions of the thirties to the fifties has opened in the Chita Oblast Arts Museum.

Eighteen months ago, the Oblast young people's newspaper "KOMSOMOLETS ZABAYKALYA" made an appeal to immortalize in Chita the memory of those who died blameless in the period of the Cult of Personality. The initiative met with wide support not only in the oblast but far beyond it as well. A public "memory" committee, which was set up under the editors, organized a competition for the best design for a monument and opened a special account in the Chita Administration of the Zhilsotsbank to collect donations. More than 75,000 rubles have already come in to that account from individuals, enterprises, and organizations in many republics, krays, and oblasts. Organizations of the Unions of Architects and Artists from Moscow, Leningrad, Izhevsk, Tbilisi, Kishinev, and Baku, and many other towns around the country have taken part in the competition.

Most of USSR Introduces Summer Time 26 Mar

PM2103083189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Mar 89 Second Edition p 8

[TASS report: " 'Summer' Time"]

[Text] The USSR State Commission for Standard Time and Frequencies reports that "summer" time will be introduced on Soviet territory 26 March 1989.

The changeover to "summer" time will take place at 0200 on 26 March by moving the clocks 1 hour forward.

In connection with the USSR Government decision to change the time systems in the Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian SSRs [Soviet Socialist Republics], in the RSFSR's [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic's] Astrakhan, Kaliningrad, Kuybyshev, Kirov, and Ulyanov oblasts, and in the Kazakh SSR's Urals Oblast, clocks in these territories will not be changed.

Local Time Zone Requests Met

PM2803104189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 3

[V. Zaykin report: "How We Will Organize the Time"]

[Text] By decision of the USSR Government, the computation of time is being changed in a number of the country's regions.

The Baltic republics and Kaliningrad Oblast will have the same time as the second time zone without adding 1 hour (Moscow time minus 1 hour). Astrakhan, Kirov, Kuybyshev, and Ulyanovsk Oblasts are introducing the regime that operates for the second time zone (Moscow time), and Uralsk Oblast is introducing that for the third time zone (Moscow time plus 1 hour).

The residents of these republics and oblasts will not switch their clocks to "summer" time. Over the remainder of the country clocks must be put forward 1 hour at 0200 on 26 March.

"The decision has been prompted by numerous appeals to local and central organs of power from the inhabitants of a number of republics and oblasts," V. Ilin, deputy chairman of the USSR State Commission for Standard Time and Standard Frequencies, said. "People complained about inconveniences: for example, because of the light evenings they have to go to bed late and it is difficult to get up for work in the morning. We studied all the proposals, coordinated with power industry workers about the question, and decided that it is perfectly possible to satisfy the requests. There are no underlying economic motives for the change in the computation of time."

Crime in Kamchatka Increased 'Sharply' in 1988

OW2403051189

[Editorial Report] Petropavlovsk - Kamchatskiy Television Service in Russian at 1900 GMT on 21 March, in its scheduled 60-minute "Utrenniy Videokanal" program, broadcasts a recorded press conference held by Internal Affairs Administration [IAA] personnel for Kamchatka journalists. The press conference, which was devoted to the work of the IAA in the region, was also open to the public. The video shows the press conference, which is chaired by Lieutenant Colonel V.F. Filinov, chief of the Political Department of the Kamchatka IAA. Colonel V.A. Kosarev, chief of the Kamchatka IAA, is seen delivering a report which states in part: "In 1988, crime in our oblast increased sharply. In terms of law infringement, the total amount in 1987 was 4,119 cases. By 1988, that had grown to 4,534, an increase of 10 percent. The main problem, however, lies in a change in the crime structure. The number of criminal offenses increased by 30 percent." He also noted a significant increase in the number of fires, and added that administrative and restrictive measures against alcoholism had failed. He said: "Home brewing of moonshine has gotten out of hand". He further said that juvenile crime had grown by 33 percent, making juvenile crime account for some 40-45 percent of the total. This makes Kamchatka the worst for this type of crime in the Far East.

Kosarev was followed by the various heads of administrative departments, who answered questions asked by journalists and members of the public pertaining to the growth in the number of burglaries, militia work with children and adolescents, protection rackets in the used goods market, and rape cases. Also, the matter of women disappearing was raised. Answering a question about rape, V.A. Alekseyev, IAA deputy chief of operations, said that the number of rape cases had not increased substantially. Kosarev confirmed this by citing 1987 and 1988 figures which place the number at 43 and 48, respectively. Alekseyev further said that the crime situation in Kamchatka is better than in Maritime or Khabarovsk Krays and is comparable with that on Sakhalin.

A television worker noted that certain important areas of the city are poorly patrolled at night. Dissatisfaction was expressed over the lack of preventive measures against individuals trading in industrially manufactured commodities. Questions were asked about the speed with which the militia arrives at the scene of a crime and how Kamchatka's crime statistics compare with that of other regions of the USSR, as well as a variety of other questions. The IAA workers provided answers to these and other questions and also spoke about the work of investigators, shortages and flexibility of personnel, and the lack of social services available to them. They noted that crime is closely connected to alcoholism and the presence in Kamchatka of a large number of social misfits.

Closing the press conference, Colonel Kosarev expressed the intention to hold press conferences regularly.

Krasnodar Power Problems Persist After AES Closure

LD2703102789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 27 Mar 89

[Text] The last worker left the building site of the Krasnodar Nuclear Electric Power Station [AES] today. This facility no longer exists. The industrial base and the settlement built for the station, for 700 inhabitants, is being handed over to local enterprises. The decision to stop building the AES in Krasnodar Kray was made nearly a year ago by the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for the Fuel and Energy Complex. Protests by the public, party, and local soviet bodies played a role of considerable importance. It had been intended to erect the station in the foothills of the northern Caucasus where, as additional research has shown, earthquakes are possible. But the seismic nature of the chosen zone and the inadequate study of a whole range of problems during design work had not stopped the ministry. And while the people of the Kuban were leaving no stone unturned at higher levels of authority, the builders managed to spend more than 20 million rubles on construction of the AES. These funds could have built more than 10 modern multistory homes.

Construction of the nuclear power station has stopped, but it is too early to say the story has ended. The power shortage problem in the kray remains acute. It is intended that there will be a thermal power station of the AES, but there is as yet no final decision. Interesting proposals by scientists and specialists for organizing power engineering on the Kuban are for the moment being ignored—for the erection of a whole cascade of small and mini hydro electric stations in the Caucasus and for the mastering of nontraditional power supplies based on natural resources: the power of the sun, the wind, the heat of the Earth, and the waves of the sea.

To implement these ideas the help of the Ministry of Power and Electrification is needed, as is resolute actions by the Krasnodar Kray leadership. But as yet, notes TASS correspondent (?Zhelikov), one gets the impression that having achieved the elimination of the nuclear power station, the leadership and public of the kray consider the job done.

Nuclear Test Site Health Fears Rebutted

PM2803091989 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Mar 89 p 1

[Unattributed feature under the rubric "According to Rumors and Authoritative Sources": "Site Ecology"]

[Text] There is much talk that underground nuclear explosions at the test site in Semipalatinsk Oblast are affecting people's health and the weather. But what do specialists think?

Lieutenant General S. Zelentsov, deputy chief of a USSR Defense Ministry main directorate:

"We frequently receive such letters—from Pavlodar, Ust-Kamenogorsk, Altay Kray. Commissions have repeatedly been set up to include specialists of the Ministry of Health, the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, the country's Academy of Sciences, and the State Committee for Hydrometeorology. In February, for example, the Semipalatinsk Oblast party committee addressed us. A commission had established that there are no deviations in terms of the radioactive background or seismicity.

"A public group, including the leader of the Kazakhstan movement against tests and O. Suleymenov, first secretary of the republic Writers Union, traveled to the site 22 March. They were shown everything and were taken to the scene of the last powerful explosion, and measurements were taken before their eyes—all clear. The ecological situation is normal on the site and in the adjacent regions."

K. Andrianov, engineer-physicist of the USSR Health Ministry Institute of Biophysics:

"The radiation background on the site is 0.012 milliroentgen per hour. For comparison, the Moscow background ranges between 0.012 and 0.02 milliroentgen, and we live alright. The figure for the Nevada site is 0.06 milliroentgen."

Academician L. Buldakov of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, deputy chairman of the National Commission for Radiation Protection:

"Residents of all the adjacent population centers have been monitored for 40 years now—since the first nuclear explosion. When both surface and air explosions were being carried out in Semipalatinsk Oblast, the background really did increase. But such explosions have not been carried out since 1963. And the background normalized.

"Medics constantly monitor people's health, the frequency of oncological diseases, longevity, and 'ordinary' illnesses. No changes have been recorded and, considering such long experience, the results are authentic. A cigarette or television set make for a considerable increase in the background (compared with what is natural)."

V. Petrov, chief of a department of the USSR State Hydrometeorology Committee Institute of Applied Geophysics:

"Sometimes people write us: The weather changes 6 days after a newspaper report of an explosion. But it is a long-established truth in meteorology that 6-7 days is the usual synoptic period after which there comes a change in the weather."

Economic

* List of Exhibits Planned for 1989 Published

18250126 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 11, Mar 89 p 23

[Unattributed Article: "The Plan for International Exhibitions in the USSR in 1989"]

[Text] 1. The Tourist Industry, Moscow, 14-21 March.
2. Equipment for the Production of Milk Products, Moscow, 16-23 March.
3. The Economy of Energetics and Material Resources in Construction and the Production of Construction Materials, Moscow, 11-18 April.
4. Equipment and Machines for Leather and Footwear Production, Yerevan, 24-31 May.
5. Powder Metallurgy, Minsk, 24-31 May.
6. Rail Transport, Shcherbinka Station, Moscow Oblast, 24 May-2 June.
7. Equipment, Apparatus and Instruments for the Metal Working Industry, Moscow, 30 May-8 June.
8. Refrigeration Equipment, Minsk, 28 June-5 July.
9. Apparatus and Equipment for Glass Research, Leningrad, 30 June-8 July.
10. Machines and Equipment for Transport Construction, Moscow, 4-11 July.
11. The Bioreactor, Moscow, 13-20 July.
12. Machines and Equipment for the Processing, Packing, Transportation, and Preservation of Fruit and Vegetable Products, Kishinev, 19-26 July.
13. Communal and Household Equipment, Moscow, 9-16 August.
14. Crystallography Equipment, Moscow, 22-25 August.
15. Ophthalmological Equipment and Apparatus, Kiev, 6-13 September.
16. Machines, Equipment, and Apparatus for the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry, Moscow, 13-22 September.
17. Diagnostic Equipment and Medicinal Preparations for the Research and Treatment of Diabetes, Tbilisi, 20-27 September.
18. Equipment for the Mechanization of Animal Husbandry and Feed Production, Alma-Ata, 27 September-5 October.
19. Personal Computers, Minsk, 11-17 October.
20. Equipment for the Production and Management of Pieces of Electronic Equipment, Moscow, 18-25 October.
21. Equipment for the Production of Black and Green Baykhovyy Tea, and Instant Tea, Tbilisi, 18-25 October.
22. Machines, Equipment, Apparatus, and Materials for Water Resources and Land Reclamation, Moscow, 19-26 October.
23. Methods for Automation of Production Processes, Moscow, 28 November-7 December.

Inquiries on exhibition participation should be addressed to:

USSR 107113, Moscow—Sokolnicheskiy Val, 1-A—V/O "Ekspotsentr" TPP USSR—Telex: 411 185 Ekspo SU

Agricultural

* Party Role in Implementing Agrarian Policy Viewed

18240108 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Mar 89 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "To Manage Without Commanding"]

[Text] The radical turn in agrarian policy outlined by the March CPSU Central Committee plenum envisions deep changes in the countryside, wide-scale political and socio-economic reformations which respond to the life interests of all Soviet people. But, as it was said from the plenum tribune, it would be naive to think that the realization of the tasks set before us will be simple and easy. Great, strenuous, and patient work lies ahead, which will demand a truly all-national effort. And, as always, the chief burden is in the organization of the cause; the party organizations, communists must take upon themselves the responsibility for its security.

Task number one is to explain, to bring into the consciousness of every Soviet person the sense and meaning of the new agrarian policy, to conduct the cause such that from the very first days, the toilers of the village, our peasantry, feel that the party is with them during this difficult phase, and that the party rally all of society to the the resolution of the immense tasks which life itself has put before us. And the party must not stop halfway there; it will move forward persistently, adjusting its every step to the interests of the people, the interests of socialism.

The reorientation of personnel for work under the new conditions is no less urgent a task. It must be deeply realized that success can be secured only by cardinal changes of set methods and approaches in the activity of party, soviet, and economic organs. We speak first and foremost about the complete rejection of methods of force and pressure, of artificially forcing restructuring upon the countryside. It would be a serious mistake if we were to get lost in administration even to the slightest degree. The experience of the past decades has shown that such a style of management has completely discredited itself. Precisely here lies one of the main causes of the crisis phenomena in the agrarian sector, in the country's provision of foodstuffs.

It was noted at the Central Committee plenum that "The task of the party organizations is to manage without commanding, to function through capable work with people, achieving their realization of the necessity of changes, strengthening their confidence that only they themselves can and must determine their own fate." This will also assist the resolution of economic problems, and will become the subsequent step in the democratic development of Soviet society.

The realization of the new agrarian policy will be implemented under the concrete conditions of each particular region and economy. There can be no sort of universal recipes here, applicable to every case in life. This is why each party organization, each labor collective must discuss as carefully as possible the plenum documents, their basic propositions of the new agrarian policy so that a choice of management form can be determined more precisely in accordance with local conditions.

It is important here to avoid unjustified haste, campaign spurts, rash judgments, and superficial conclusions. It is even more intolerable to fall into a panic, perplexity in the face of unfamiliar, out of the ordinary situations. The practice of recent years testifies to the tendencies toward slowing down, to the facts of opposition to the new in the force of old habits, dogmatic thinking, and the existing style of work, the set tenor of life. And this means that a serious restructuring of the psychology of the rural laborers, including management personnel, is absolutely necessary.

The primary party organizations and communists of the kolkhoz [collective farm] and sovkhoz [state farm] bear particular responsibility under these conditions. The abolition of multitudinous administrative superstructures, the assimilation of leases, the democratization of economic life, and the break from established stereotypes involved with all of this obligates us to change in many ways the very content, style, and methods of party work in the countryside. The main thing is to convince people of the advantages of the new forms of management, acting under strictly voluntary conditions. And not only to convince, but to teach people, broadly utilizing the achievement of the best, influencing by personal example. The acquisition of economic knowledge, the ability to use cost accounting forms and methods actively, to act independently and enterprisingly become exceptionally urgent tasks. In a word, everything must be done to maximally discover the enormous potential invested in kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and cooperative forms of labor via the new method of management.

But here it should not be forgotten that we are not beginning the work of reformation of agrarian relations from scratch; in various regions, no small amount of experience has been accumulated with cost accounting, brigade and family contracts, and forms of leasing. It is sufficient to recall the undertakings of the party organizations in the Orlov and Chita Oblasts, the practice of the cooperative agrofirms, associations, and agrocombines emerging everywhere, the heightened attention toward the labor and living conditions of the peasantry, the social reconstruction of villages in the Belgorod area, in some oblasts of the Volga region, Siberia, Ukraine, Belorussia, and Kazakhstan. The assimilation and creative application of innovation may become a powerful and effective force in the restructuring of economic relations in the village making them a common property. And here is a wide sphere of action for party and soviet organs, for the mass information media, and, of course,

for scientific institutions summoned in the most attentive manner, to examine innovative processes in the countryside and to make them public property.

The issue of the realization of the new agrarian policy concerns everyone. There are no "outsiders," nor can there be any. More harmonious relations between city and countryside must be confirmed, in accordance with the Leninist concept of socialism, the course of strengthening the union of the working class and the peasantry. Machine builders and chemists, construction workers, and workers of the fuel energy branches are called upon to make their contribution to the all-national cause. The role of the ranks of the Soviet intelligentsia in the development of the village is great. The main thing is that the party organizations, and the management personnel fully recognize the new situation, and maximally utilize the resources on hand, waging a decisive battle against any manifestation of purely consumer, parasitic psychology.

A great deal will depend upon the activity of all the links of the soviet of people's deputies. Rational utilization of land and other resources, the defense of the rights of leasees, the development of the village's social and cultural base—the role of the soviets in all of this cannot be replaced. An important component of the new agrarian policy is the dramatic elevation and responsibility of the rayons, okrugs, oblasts, krays, and republics for the resolution of matters of provision of foodstuffs to localities.

Agrarian reformation is inseparable from political and economic reform, from the general process of the revolutionary renewal of the life of Soviet society. Their basic goal is the regeneration of the peasant as the master of the land, the stimulation of his initiative, wit, and creative thought, to reliably solve the problem of foodstuffs in our country. Today, there is no more honorable and responsible task for party members than heading this work, leading people, becoming the soul of the cause and securing its success.

Scientific

'Phobos' Probe Photographs Mars, Martian Moon

LD2703173689 Moscow TASS in English 1720 GMT 27 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 27 TASS—The Soviet space probe "Phobos", orbiting around Mars, continues monitoring the planet and its satellite Phobos, the Mission Control Centre reported Monday.

On Sunday [26 March], "Phobos" did television and thermal filming of Mars, obtaining high quality images of the planet's surface in the optical and infra-red bands.

In accordance with the flight programme, the station's television cameras filmed Phobos tonight to more accurately specify the spacecraft's location relative to the satellite.

'Mir' Crew Changeover Planned for April

LD2803085289 Moscow TASS in English 0652 GMT 28 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—Soviet cosmonauts Aleksandr Volkov and Sergey Krikolev have been working aboard the Soviet long-duration orbital complex Mir for four months. Together with them is physician Valeriy Polyakov who has been staying in orbit for about seven months now.

Less than a month has remained before the end of the current long expedition. A change-over of space crews will take place at the orbital station at the end of April.

In the Star City near Moscow, Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Balandin are preparing for a new flight. The crew who are now in orbit will return to earth.

The cosmonauts have accomplished an extensive programme of scientific research and experiments, specifically astrophysical research done by means of the Kvant specialised module of the orbital complex.

This month, for example, the cosmonauts surveyed areas of the celestial sphere in the constellation Berenice's Hair.

They performed experiments under the international programme Roentgen. X-ray pulsar Hercules X-1 was one of the objects of observation. Scientific data on it are reckoned invaluable by astronomers.

Within the framework of the programme for peaceful study and exploration of near-earth space for the benefit of various branches of the Soviet economy, the cosmonauts throughout the expedition engaged in space photography and made visual observations. In particular, they photographed the southern part of the European territory of the USSR to evaluate the condition of agricultural land of the Crimea, Krasnodar and Stavropol territories.

All cosmonauts are in good health, cheerful, and maintain an excellent physical trim. This is undoubtedly much to the credit of "space doctor" Valeriy Polyakov.

Military

Yazov Issues Order on Reserves, Next Draft

PM2803110789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Mar 89 First Edition p 1

[USSR Defense Minister Order of the Day No 117, dated Moscow, 28 March 1989: "On the Discharge From the Ranks of the USSR Armed Forces Into the Reserve of Servicemen Who Have Completed Their Prescribed Period of Active Military Service and on the Next Draft of Citizens for Active Military Service in April-June 1989"]

[Text] In accordance with the USSR law "On Compulsory Military Service" **I ORDER**:

1. That draftees who have completed their prescribed period of active military service be discharged from the ranks of the Soviet Army, Navy, Border Guards, and Internal Troops into the reserve in April-June 1989.

2. That, in connection with the discharge into the reserve of the servicemen referred to in paragraph one of this order, male citizens aged 18 by the draft date and without the right to draft deferment and citizens above draft age whose draft deferment has expired be drafted for active military service in the Soviet Army, Navy, Border Guards, and Internal Troops in April-June 1989.

3. That this order be read out in all companies, batteries, squadrons, and aboard ships.

Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister

Correspondent Explains Defense Industry Conversion

PM2803105789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Mar 89 First Edition p 4

[Rudolf Khiltunen APN-attributed article under the "Topical Subject" rubric: "Conversion of Military Production"]

[Text] Some 30 years ago the Americans tried to photograph Soviet defense plants in the Urals, including, probably, the enterprise at Votkinsk specializing in the production of missile launchers, using the "U-2" spy plane. The plane was downed by one of these missiles. Now U.S. inspectors at the Votkinsk plant are watching to see that no SS-20 missile leaves the enterprise.

Today the question of conversion is on the agenda in Votkinsk. The plant already has some experience with this. It has organized production of such civilian output as high-precision program-controlled machine tools and equipment for the food industry, in particular apparatus for preparing children's dairy products, and more than 1 million "Feya" washing machines have been put on sale.

At the beginning of March a Soviet spokesman announced at an international conference in Bonn on questions of converting military production that conversion has also already affected military plants in Volgograd, Sverdlovsk, and other cities in addition to Votkinsk. The task has been set of producing nonmilitary output worth R27 billion at USSR military enterprises, which is equivalent to 7.5 percent of the overall volume of all consumer goods. N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, developed this information at a meeting in the Kremlin with members of the international women journalists' press club. Forty percent of USSR defense complex enterprises' output now have a peaceful purpose. This figure will rise to 50 and 60 percent in 1991 and 1995 respectively.

Conversion presupposes not only reducing and retooling military production but also using military equipment in the national economy. For instance, only 5,000 of the 10,000 tanks that the USSR is cutting in Europe will be "physically" eliminated, while the rest will be turned into tractors for nonmilitary needs, simulators, and firefighting vehicles to fight fires in particularly complex conditions, and bulldozers for constructing highways in inaccessible areas. The SS-20 missiles' running gear is being used in Odessa to construct heavy cranes.

All this benefits the population and the economy. But what about workers in the defense industry themselves? What is more advantageous for them—to produce television sets or tanks? Will there not be a problem in finding jobs for some workers and specialists from the retooled enterprises? For military enterprises have the kind of equipment and use the kind of technological processes that are characteristic of military production alone (for instance, putting heat-shielding coverings on missile casings and munitions production lines). But this is the exception rather than the rule. In most cases the same machine stock enables both weapons and peaceful output to be produced. Thus there will be no question of discharging people just of retraining them. This year by way of an experiment plans will be drafted for the complete conversion of two or three defense enterprises (M.S. Gorbachev mentioned this 7 December in New York). These plants will also be an experimental testing ground for the conversion of the entire defense industry.

...It is not ruled out that U.S. reconnaissance satellites recorded a new intermediate-range missile early this year in the Kharkov area in a vertical position—consequently, in a combat position. But the alarm was not raised. High-resolution optical instruments allowed them to establish that the missile casing was being used as a water tower. That is how a local sovkhoz [state farm] resolved one of its problems.

Features of Su-27 Interceptor Described

PM2803091489 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Special correspondent V. Belikov article under the rubric "Details for IZVESTIYA": "Su-27 Interceptor: No Secrets"]

[Text] The Su-27, one of the most sophisticated counter-air interceptors, was named for the first time in the open press in the recent Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee. Today we introduce this combat machine and one of the collectives involved in creating it.

I was able to study these machines for the first time at a distant border airfield 2 years ago. The pilots were just preparing for their flights. While the young lieutenants donned their altitude suits, the unit commanding officer allowed me to climb the light stepladder and sit in the pilot's seat for a few minutes.

No workplace is like this: The cramped space of the cockpit, full to overflowing with all the things that make it possible in a matter of minutes to seek a target in the boundless skies, find it, and destroy it. Two crests rose behind me—the fins, and to their sides the broad "flaps" of the stabilizers, which are the Su-27's elevators. The fire-breathing maws of the afterburners, resembling gun barrels, literally shoot the plane into the skies on takeoff....

"Our two turbojets that are installed on the interceptor," V. Chepkin, general designer at the "Saturn" Science and Production Association, noted, "are the brothers of those that enabled the record-breaking P-42 plane to surpass all world class records for rate of climb. Within just over 30 seconds of takeoff it was at an altitude of 3 km, and then, without slowing down, it broke the 11-km and 15-km altitude barriers at the same pace. In short, the American F-15—which held the previous world records—was wiped off the official International Aeronautical Federation chart."

Rate of climb is the chief virtue, but not the only one, of the interceptor, which needs—in addition to powerful armaments—a long range, the ability to refuel in the air, and, of course, the ability to go beyond twice the speed of sound. These qualities of the combat machine are determined first and foremost by the power available—the total capacity of the engines. They were what I discussed at "Saturn"—the motor building firm whose development is indissolubly associated with the famous name of academician and designer A. Lyulka.

IZVESTIYA writer Anatoliy Agranovskiy, in his book "Master of His Craft" ["Svoyego Dela Master"], wrote this of Arkhip Mikhaylovich: "He created the turbojet, the basis of modern aviation.... It is quite simple: He invented this engine." That was before the war, but what is the firm's work like today?

"The engines for the P-42, like those for earlier machines from the same experimental design bureau," V. Chepkin says, "were created in Lyulka's traditions: Operating temperatures are critical, air compression is the maximum possible, turbine rotation speeds are very high. All the parameters are at the limits! And the engine was built to be small in size, giving an advantage of 2 whole tonnes in the aircraft weight; it has a long operating life, and—importantly for operation—is simple and convenient to repair. Planes are not left idle unnecessarily: Technicians trained by the plant specialists can bring the turbines back to life in field conditions."

[Belikov] "And are they difficult to manufacture?"

[Chepkin] "To answer your question, the general designer put on the table a component weighing less than 100 grams—a turbine vane made from a heat-resistant alloy.

"It withstands a pressure of 25 atmospheres and does not lose durability when heated gases flow past it at temperatures more than 100 degrees higher than the melting point of the metal it is made from. How is this possible? Because of a cunning system of internal cooling—something like man's capillary vessels."

In the course of preparation for the "record-breaking" flight, the turbojet of the P-42 was boosted in comparison with the series production model. But the designers now describe the engine as basic, because they can see considerable reserves for developing it. A generous influx of new ideas, proposals, and modifications comes in from the wide network of contacts and creative links that the "Saturn" science and production association has developed. It includes air defense units, manufacturing facilities, and more than 150 academy and sector institutes.

[Belikov] "What is the benefit of this quest for ideas?"

"The ability to perceive the technical prospects," the designer replied. "Throughout the world the time taken from the birth of the idea for a new jet engine to its final emergence is at least 10-12 years. The long-term planning groups of our association and the aircraft experimental design bureau are now working—just imagine—in the 21st century."

Maksimov Signs Lieutenant General's Obituary

PM2803092189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Mar 89 First Edition p 4

[Obituary of V.D. Galkin, winner of USSR State Prize]

[Excerpts] Lieutenant General Valentin Davydovich Gakin, winner of the USSR State Prize, has died after a short illness. He devoted his entire life to selflessly serving the socialist motherland, the Soviet people, and the cause of the Communist Party, of which he was a member from 1960 onward.

V.D. Galkin was born 2 December 1937 in Novoanninskiy Rayon, Volgograd Oblast. In 1955 he began his service in the USSR Armed Forces. Graduating with a gold medal from Kharkov Higher Military Air Engineering School, he was occupied in various command and engineering posts in troops and the central apparatus. He rose from being a student to lieutenant general. [passage omitted]

Signed: Yu.P. Maksimov, Yu.A. Yashin, V.S. Rodin, A.P. Volkov, S.G. Kochemasov, I.D. Sergeyev, A.A. Ryazhskikh, G.A. Kolesnikov, V.P. Shilovskiy, A.G. Funtikov, N.D. Falko, V.P. Zatsepik, N.V. Kravets, V.N. Afanasyev